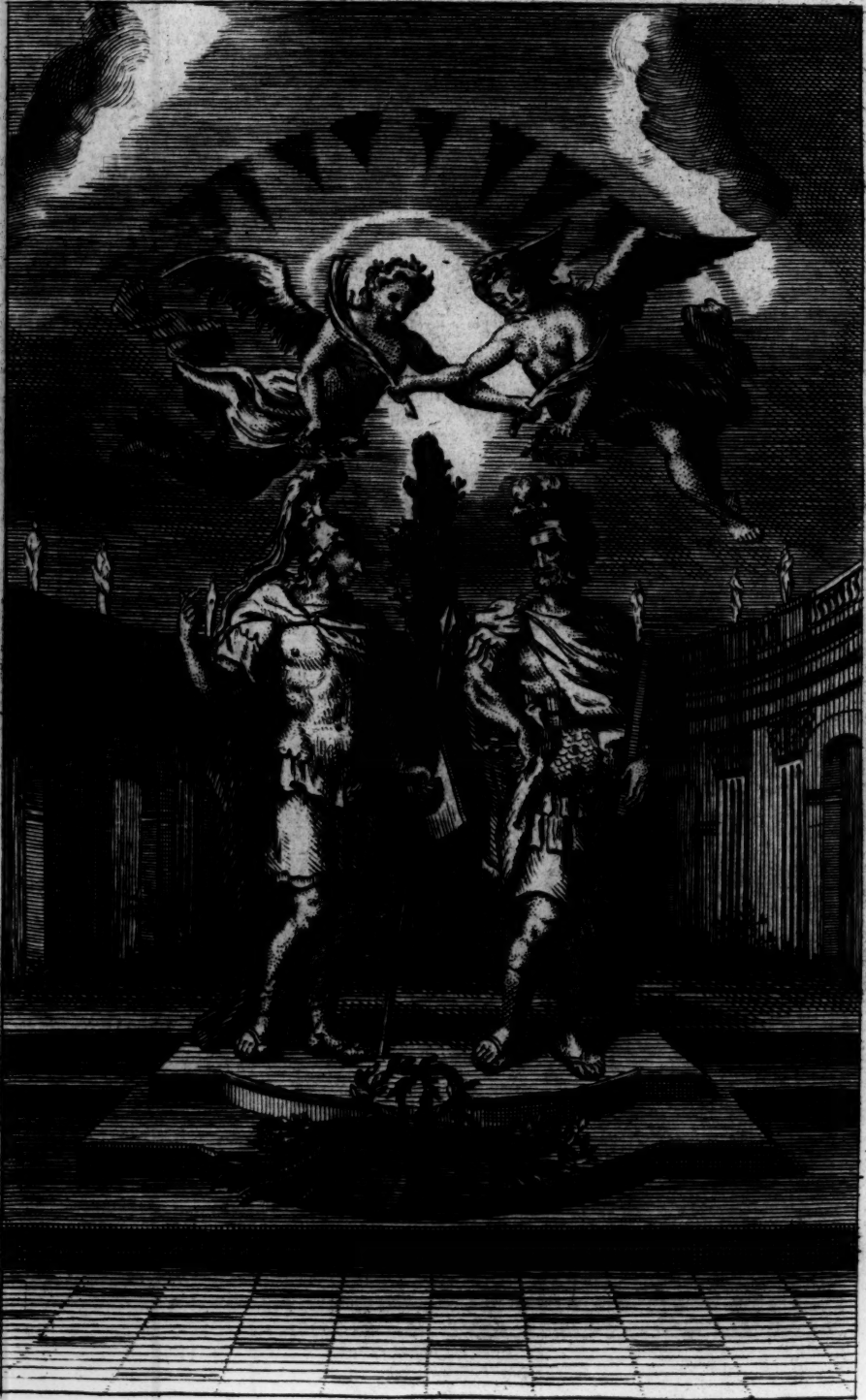
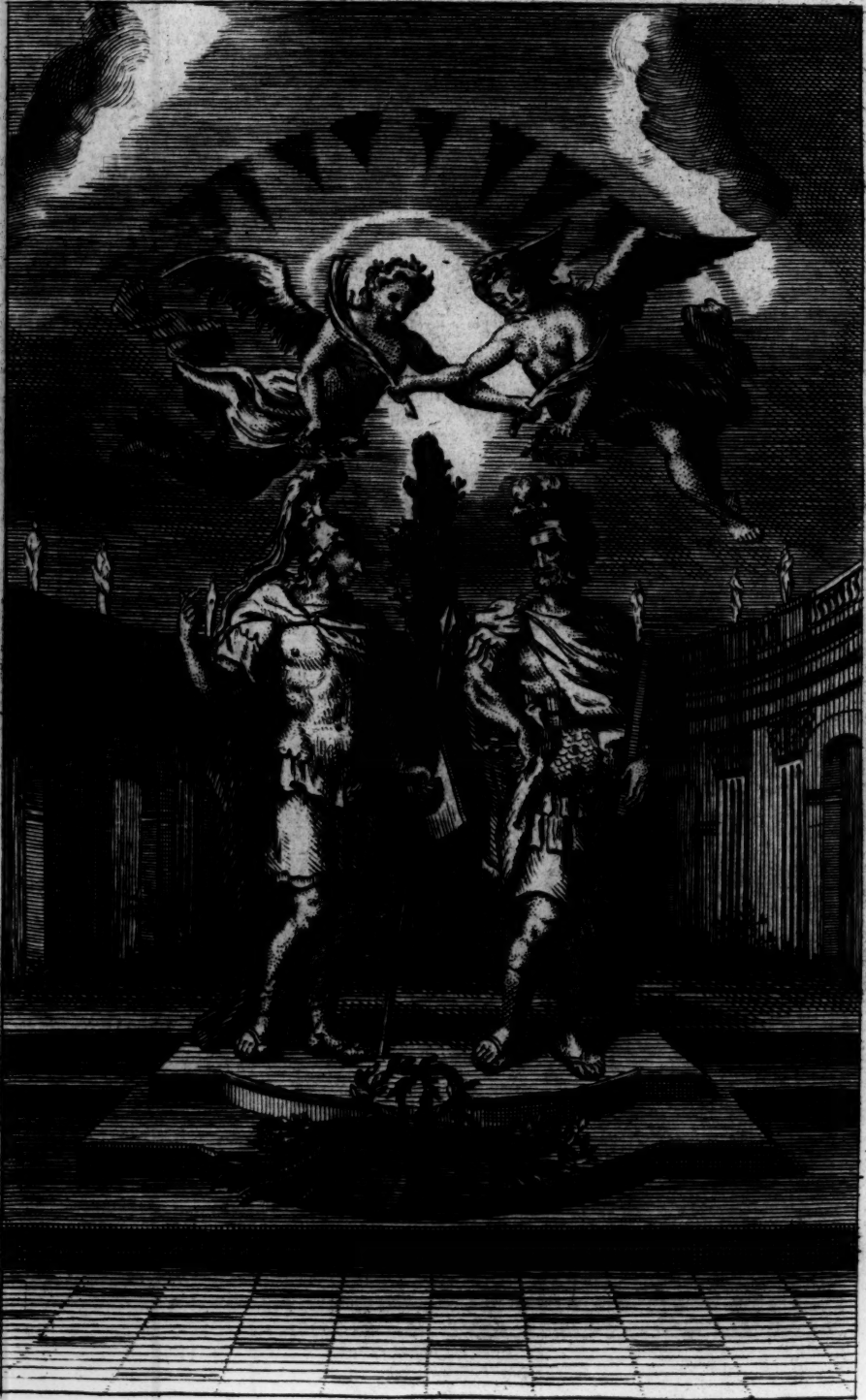




G. King Sculp. 1726



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PLUTARCH's

L I V E S:

VOLUME *the* FIFTH.

CONTAINING

NICIAS.

EUMENES.

MARCUS CRASSUS.

Q. SERTORIUS.

AGESILAUS.

POMPEY.

Translated from the GREEK.

With NOTES *Historical and Critical*

From M. D A C I E R.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. T O N S O N in the *Strand*.

M D C C X X V I I.

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PLUTARCH

LIVES

VOLUME THE TENTH

CONTAINING

THE LIVES OF

NICIAS

MARCUS CRASSUS, Q. SERTORIUS

AND

THE LIVES OF

GREEN



TRAFFORD

With Notes Historical and Critical

From M. D. A. E. R.

LONDON

Printed for J. T. and S. in the Strand

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THE LIFE

NICIAS.

SINCE we have thought it not im-
proper to set *Crassus* against *Nicias*, and
compare the *Parthian* Disaster with
That in *Sicily*, We must in the first
Place beseech the Reader, in all Cour-
tesy, (1) not to think that We contend with *Thu-*
cydides, in Matters so Pathetically, so Nobly, so be-

(1) *Plutarch* is afraid that They
who shall read this Life of *Nicias*,
whose History is written by *Thu-*
cydides, may think that he is en-
tering the Lists against that great
Historian, and snatching from him
the Crown he has so justly de-
served. To prevent This he de-
clares before hand that he is far
from such a foolish Presumption

as to think himself capable of ex-
celling Him, whom every confi-
derate Writer despairs even of
imitating. What would *Plutarch*
say now-a-days of the Arrogance
of Some who think themselves
able to correct, and embellish
those incomparable Master-Pieces
that have been so much admired
by all Antiquity?

yond all Imitation, and even beyond himself, express'd by him; nor to believe us guilty (1) of the like Folly with *Timeus* the Historian, who fancying himself able to surpass *Thucydides* in Majesty of Style, and make *Philistus* appear a Trifler and very Dolt, pushes on his Descriptions through the thickest of their main Battels, Achievements at Sea, and Debates of Council, which were the most laboured by Them, and wherein they peculiarly excelled. And yet (2) this Writer could no more keep up with them, than does

A limping Footman with a Lydian Chariot,

as *Pindar* has it. He shews himself all along half-letter'd, a Dealer in small Wares: And, according to that of *Diphilus*,

(1) *Plutarch* reflects here with good reason upon the Folly and Presumption of *Timeus* the Historian, who was so full of Himself as to believe he could excel *Thucydides*, and make *Philistus* pass for an Idiot; *Philistus*, whom *Cicero* calls the younger *Thucydides*, because he imitated his Style. He was more languid, and wanted the Sinews of *Thucydides*, but then he atoned for that Defect by more Clearness and Perspicuity.

(2) Thus we see what *Timeus* has got by his Presumption, he has provoked a judicious Writer to animadvert upon his Folly, and so expose him to the Contempt, and Ridicule of all Posterity. However in other Respects *Timeus* was not without his Merit. *Cicero* gives us a Commendation of him in his Book *de Oratore*. *Post Calisthenem Timeus longe eruditissimus & rerum Copia, & Senten-*

tharum Varietate, & ipsa Compositionis verborum non impolitus magnam eloquentiam ad scribendum attulit. *Diodorus* commends him for his great Exactness in Chronology, and extensive Learning. But the following Judgement of *Longinus* admirably reconciles the Character given him by the Orator and Historian with that ridiculous Light in which he is placed here by *Plutarch*. As for the Trifling and Childish of which we have been speaking, *Timeus* is full of it. This Author in other Respects writes well enough. Sometimes you find in him in the Grand, and the Sublime; he has read much, and has a fertile Imagination. But he is naturally inclin'd to find Fault with Others, at the same time that he is blind to his own Defects, and is so fond of thinking out of the common Road that it often makes him sink into the utmost Puerility.

All

All fat, (1) and rolling in Sicilian Grease.

He oftentimes falls so very low, as even with (2) *Xenarchus* to quibble; telling us, That he thought it ominous to the Athenians, that their General, (3) whose Name imported Victory, refus'd to command in the Expedition: And that from the defacing of (4) the *Hermæ*, the Gods foretold that they should very much suffer in War, from the Commander of the *Syracusians*, *Hermocrates* the Son of *Hermon*. And in another place he tells us, it was very likely that *Hercules* would aid the *Syracusians*, for the Maiden's sake, by whose means he took *Cerberus*; and that he was

(1) It seems This was a sort of Proverb; when they would describe a heavy thick-skulled Fellow, they called him a Man rolling in Sicilian Grease. For the *Sicilians* pass'd for a proud vain-glorious People.

(2) I am of Opinion that this *Xenarchus* was an Historian Contemporary with, or at least not much older than *Timæus*; for we are not to mistake Him for *Xenarchus* the Peripatetick, who was *Strabo's* Master. Some will have him to be the Same with *Xenarchus* the Comick Poet, the Author of several *Mimes*.

(3) Nothing indeed can be more impertinent and whimsical than to foretel the ill Success of an Expedition, because they had chosen *Nicias* for the General, who derived his Name from *νίκη* Victory, and who had opposed that Expedition, as if Victory had thereby declared against them.

(4) This Passage is quoted by *Longinus* as an Example of that frigid Style, those Puerilities, he had condemn'd in *Timæus*. But

as for the Athenians who were made Prisoners of War in Sicily, what sort of Exclamations, think ye, do's he make on that Occasion? He saith it was a Judgment upon them from Heaven for their Impiety towards the God *Hermes*, or *Mercury*, for defacing his Statues; especially considering that One of the Commanders in Chief in the Enemy's Army, that is *Hermocrates* the Son of *Hermon*, was descended in a direct Line from Him they had so injuriously treated. Nothing can be more puerile, and insipid, than to pretend that God, to let the Athenians know that they were punished for maiming the Statues of *Hermes*, wou'd punish them by the Hands of *Hermocrates* the Son of *Hermon*. And *Longinus* with good reason adds, that he wonders this Historian did not likewise say of *Dionysius* the Tyrant, that the Gods suffer'd him to be driven out of his Kingdom by *Dion*, and *Heraclides*, because of the dis-respect he shew'd to *Dios*, and *Heracles*, that is, *Jupiter* and *Hercules*.

offended at the Athenians for protecting the Egesteans, who were defended from the Trojans his mortal Enemies, whose City he had taken by Assault in revenge of an Injury he had received from their King Laomedon. But perhaps this quaint way of writing is owing to the same Stock of Learning and Judgment, which taught him to find fault with the Language of *Philistius*; and carp at *Plato* and *Aristotle*.

This sort of contention, and vying with others in matter of Style, in my Mind, at the best, looks very little, and shews the certain Spirit of a Pedant; but in things unimitable it is downright Stupidity.

Such Actions therefore as *Thucydides* and *Philistius* have related, seeing they are not to be pass'd by, especially Those that discover the Genius of the Man, and his Disposition, which under his many and great Troubles lay conceal'd, Those I say, that I may not seem altogether negligent, I shall briefly run over; and such things as are not vulgarly known, and lie scatter'd here and there, in other Mens Writings, or are found amongst the old Monuments and Archives, I shall endeavour to bring together; not huddling up an impertinent Story, but delivering what may best make his Disposition and Temper understood.

The first thing to be observed of *Nicias*, is what *Aristotle* has written concerning him. He saith, *That there were at the same time in Athens three Citizens eminent above all the rest for their fatherly Affection and Love to the People, Nicias the Son of Niceratus, Thucydides the Son of Miliesius, and Theramenes the Son of Agnon; but the Last of These came short of the other Two in that respect, for his mean Extraction was cast in his Teeth, besides he was look'd on as a Foreigner, being a Native of Ceos, and forasmuch as he was of an unsetled inconstant Temper, siding sometimes with one Party, and sometimes with Another, in the Commonwealth,*

wealth; This made him be Nick-named the *Buskin*. Of these Three *Thucydides* was the eldest, and espoused the Interest of the Nobility, which often led him to oppose *Pericles*, who cajol'd the Commons.

Nicias, tho' younger, yet was he in some reputation even whilst *Pericles* liv'd; insomuch as to be in joint Commission with him, and many times to be General alone; but *Pericles* dying, he presently rose to the highest Preferments, chiefly by the Favour of the Nobility, who set him for their Bulwark against the Presumption and Insolence of *Cleon*; yet at the same time he preserved his Interest with the Commons, who had a Kindness for him, and contributed to his Advancement. It is true that *Cleon's* Interest ran very high by his caressing the old Men, and his frequent Doles to the Poor; yet even They, whom he thus practis'd upon for their Favour, beholding the Avarice, the Arrogance and the Presumption of the Man, were never wanting upon Occasion to declare for *Nicias*.

For His was not that sort of Gravity, which is over-harsh or odious, but tempered with a certain awful Respect and Deference, which very much resembled Timidity, and recommended him exceedingly to the People. He was naturally Diffident and Timorous, but Fortune supply'd his want of Courage in time of Action, and conceal'd it, for he always came off with Success. But his Timorousness, in point of Government, and Dread of Informers, tended very much to conciliate to him the good Will of the People; and gave him no small Power over Them, who are always afraid of Those that despise them, and promote Such as stand in awe of them; for the greatest Honour they aim at, is not to be had in Contempt by their Betters.

Pericles, who by solid Virtue, and the pure dint of Eloquence ruied the Commonwealth, stood in need of no Disguise, nor wheadling with the People; whereas

The LIFE of

whereas *Nicias*, who was inferior to him in those Talents, but abounded in Wealth, had recourse to his Riches, with which he was forced to truck for Popularity.

Neither was he made with the Nimble Wit of *Cleon*, so as by breaking Jest, and playing the Droll to tickle the *Athenians*; therefore being unprovided likewise of those Qualities, he treated the People with Dances and Games, and other publick Shows, more sumptuous and more splendid, than had been ever known in His, or in former Ages.

Amongst his Works of Devotion there is extant, even in our days, a Shrine of *Minerva* in the Cittadel, of which the Gold Covering is lost: And a little Chapel in the Temple of *Bacchus*, placed under the *Tripods*, which had likewise been presented by Him, and are the usual Offerings of such as gain the Prize in the publick Shows, in which he always came off victorious. It happen'd one day whilst he was exhibiting one of these Shows to the People, that a Slave of His was seen to pass over the Stage, very young, beautiful, and well-shaped, and richly habited, being to personate *Bacchus*. The *Athenians*, transported at so agreeable a Spectacle, fell a clapping, and continued for some time to testify their Satisfaction and Applause, 'till *Nicias* stood up, and declared, *That he thought it a great Piece of Impiety any longer to detain in Slavery a Person who by the publick Voice had been liken'd to a Deity*; and so he immediately gave him his Liberty.

His Offerings at *Delos* are remembred to this day, as noble and magnificent Works of Devotion. Before his time (1) the Bands of Musick, which the

(1) The chief Cities in *Greece* conduct this Show, was always used every Year to send Bands, or chosen out of the chiefest of the Chorus's of Musick to *Delos*, where Citizens, and it was look'd upon they were to sing Hymns to *Apollo*, as a great Honour to be dignified and this Procession was called with that Office.
Theoria. The Person appointed to

Cities of Greece used to send to *Delos* to sing Hymns and Anthems to *Apollo*, generally arrived in great Hurry and Confusion. For the Inhabitants of the Island ran in Crowds to the Sea-side as soon as the Ship appeared, and without staying 'till the Performers were landed, they cry'd out with great Impatience for them to begin; so that they were forced to sing, put on their Chaplets, and religious Vestments all at the same time, which could not be done without much Disorder and Indecency.

When *Nicias* had the Honour to conduct this sacred Procession, instead of steering directly to *Delos*, he landed at the Isle of *Rhenia*, having with him the Chorus, the Victims for the Sacrifice, and every thing else necessary for the Festival. He took particular Care to carry with him a Bridge he had order'd to be prepared at *Athens* of an exact Length, to lay over the Channel that lies between *Delos* and *Rhenia*. It was a magnificent Piece of Work, adorned with rich Gildings, fine Paintings, and Tapestry. *Nicias* caused it to be laid over the Channel in the Night time, and early in the Morning passed the Procession over; the Musicians in their costly Habits marching in order made the Air echo to their Instruments and Voices; and in this manner the whole Parade arrived at the Temple.

The Sacrifices, the Games, and the Feast being over, he set up a Palm-Tree of Brass as a Present to the God, and bought a Parcel of Land, for ten thousand Drachmas, which he settled on the Temple. The Revenue of this Land was to be laid out annually in a Sacrifice, and Feast, wherein the *Delians* were to pray for the Health and Prosperity of *Nicias*. This was expressly engraved on a Pillar, which he erected and left at *Delos* as a Monument and Record of his Foundation. The Palm-tree being afterwards blown down by
the

The LIFE of

the (1) Wind, fell on the huge Statue which the Men of *Naxos* had presented, and beat it to the Ground.

It is very plain, that much of this looks like Vain-glory, and shews a strong Affectation of Popularity and a Thirst after Applause: Yet from the other Qualities and Carriage of the Man, one might believe all this Cost and Magnificence to be purely the Effect of his Devotion: For he was one of Those who dreaded the Divine Powers extreamly, and (as *Thucydides* informs us) (2) *was devout even to Superstition*. In one of *Pasiphon's* Dialogues it is written, That he daily sacrificed to the Gods, and keeping a Divine at his House, he pretended to be consulting always about the Commonwealth; whereas for the most part he enquired only of his private Affairs, more especially concerning his Silver Mines: For he possess'd Many, and of great avail, in the Borough of *Laurium*; but wrought them not without hazard. He maintained there a multitude of Slaves, and his Wealth consisted chiefly in Silver; which gain'd him many Retainers, and Hangers-on, who had what they wanted for asking. For he gave with both Hands to Those he stood in Fear of, as well as to Such as were worthy of it. In short, his Fear brought on him a Rent-charge for Knaves, and his Humanity for Honest Men. Of these things we have Testimony, even in our

(1) This was a Statue of *Apollo*, which had been dedicated by the *Naxians*; some Travellers who have been at *Delos* relate, that among a great Heap of Ruins, and broken Statues, near the Temple of *Apollo*, is to be seen a great Piece of Marble, which had been the Plinth, or square Foot of the Statue, on which there is this Inscription.

ΝΑΞΙΟΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ.

The *Naxians* to *Apollo*.

(2) *Plutarch* in this Place makes use of *Thucydides* his own Words, for he writes in his seventh Book, that as the *Athenians* were preparing to retire in silence, the Moon on a sudden came to be Eclips'd. This put them in a great Fright, and no one more than *Nicias*; ἢν γὰρ τὴν καὶ ἀγαν δεισάνειν τὴν καὶ τοῖς τοῖς προσέχουσιν. For he was much addicted to the Worship of the Gods, and seized with a superstitious Fear at such Appearances.

Comedies;

Comedies; for *Teleclides* brings in an Informer, saying thus: *Charicles would not give him a Doit to oblige him not to discover that he was the eldest of his Mother's Children, and the first Fruits of her Amours. Whereas Nicias the Son of Niceratus gave him Four. Tho' I very well know the Reason of this Generosity, I will disclose it to no body, for Nicias is my Friend, and in my Opinion a Person of good Understanding.*

The Poet *Eupolis* in one of his Pieces, called *Marica*, introduceth another Informer, whom he lasheth, and makes him speak in this manner to a poor simple Fellow.

Tell me, Friend, when didst thou see Nicias?

Informer.

I never saw him 'till lately in the Forum.

Poor Man.

He confesseth that he has seen Nicias. And what did he see him for unless to receive his Money, and be brib'd by him? My Friends, You bear me Witness. We have caught Nicias in the very Fact.

Informer.

You are a Parcel of Coxcombs if you ever think to Poet surprise an honest Man, such as Nicias, in an unjustifiable Action.

And *Cleon* in *Aristophanes* saith in a menacing Tone,

I will stop the Mouths of their fine Speeches, and put Nicias into a Panick.

Phrynichus represents him as wanting Courage, and ready to be scar'd out of his Senses, in these Verses:

Good Man was he (that very well I know)

And never did, like Nicias, trembling go.

He was so afraid of Informers, and so reserved, that he would neither venture to eat with any of the Citizens, nor converse with them, visit, or be visited, or, in a Word, enter into any of those Amuse-

amusements, and Diversions, which are common in populous Cities and Societies. When he was *Archon*, he staid in Court 'till Night, being always the First upon the Bench, and the Last that left it. When no publick Business called him from home, it was no easy matter to get Access to him, for he kept himself close within Doors, which were shut to all the World, and when Any came to speak with him, he had some particular Friend ready who went to the Gate, desiring *Nicias* might be excused, because he was that Moment taken up in some important Affairs relating to the State, and had not time to speak with them.

The Person, who acted the top part in this Comedy, and contributed more than any to gain him the Reputation of a Man overcharged with Business, was *Hiero*, who had been educated in *Nicias's* Family, and instructed by Him in Letters and Musick; He pretended to be the Son of *Dionysius* surnam'd *Chalcus*, whose Poems are yet extant, and who having been chosen Captain of a Colony, which was sent into *Italy*, settled there, and built the City of *Thurii*.

This *Hiero* transacted all his Secrets with the Divines; and gave out in Speeches to the People, *What a toilsom and miserable Life Nicias led, for the sake of the Commonwealth.* He (said *Hiero*) can never be at quiet, neither at the Bath, nor at his Meals, but some Publick Care seizes him: Careless and negligent of his Own, zealous for the Publick Good; scarce ever going to Bed, 'till after others have had their first Sleep: So that his Health is impaired, and his Body wasted. He can be neither chearful nor affable with his Friends, but abandons them, together with his own Concerns, for the sake of the Publick: Whilst other Men make Friends by being in Office, enrich themselves, fare deliciously, and play with the Government.

And

And this truly was *Nicias* his manner of Life; so that he might apply to himself that Saying of *Agamemnon*,

*With Pageantries and Pomp, the World I brave;
Yet, in effect, am but the Peoples Slave.*

Nicias observed that the People readily made use of the Experience and Capacity of Those who excelled in Eloquence and good Sense; when they wanted them; but he observed at the same time that they were jealous of their Abilities, kept a watchful Eye over them, check'd their Courage on all Occasions, and lessen'd their Reputation. This was but too manifest in their Condemnation of *Pericles*, their Banishment of *Damon*, their Distrust of *Antiphan* the *Rhamnusian*, but especially in the Case of *Paches*, who had taken *Lesbos*, and who being summon'd to give an Account of his Conduct, drew his Sword in open Court, and slew himself.

On these Considerations *Nicias* declined the Command in all difficult or trifling Occasions, and when he was in Commission, he would hazard nothing, but always went the safest way to work; so it is no Wonder if he succeeded in all his Undertakings; and yet he never attributed his Success to any Wisdom, Conduct, or Courage of his Own, but (to avoid Envy) he thank'd Fortune for All, and gave the Gods the Glory. This is very evident from the Occurrences of those times; for of all the Misfortunes which fell upon *Athens*, and brought her to the very Brink of Ruin, *Nicias* had not the least Share in any One of them. If the *Athenians* were defeated in *Thrace* by the *Chalcidians*, it was under the Conduct of *Calliadas* and *Xenophon*; if they received a Rebuff in *Etolia*, it was when *Demosthenes* was their General; if they lost a thou-
sand

sand of their best Soldiers at *Delium* in *Beotia*, it was when *Hippocrates* commanded. And as for the Plague with which *Athens* was visited, That was to be charged upon *Pericles*, who, by reason of the War, had forced all the Inhabitants of the Country into the City, where the Change of Air, close Confinement, and different Way of living, produced that horrible Contagion.

None of these Calamities could be imputed to *Nicias*. On the contrary, He took the Isle of (1) *Cithera*, so commodiously situated for their Incursions into *Laconia*, and inhabited by the *Lacedaemonians*. He likewise reduced several Towns in *Thrace*, which had revolted from the *Athenians*. He confined the *Megareans* within their own Walls, and then made himself Master of the Isle of *Minoa*; from thence he marched, and seizing on the Haven of *Nisea*, he made a Descent upon the Territories of *Corinth*, where he gain'd an entire Victory, killing great Numbers of the *Corinthians* upon the Spot, and among the rest *Lycophron* their General.

There he had the Misfortune, without knowing it, till it was too late, to leave two of his Soldiers dead behind him, they having been over-look'd when Search was made, and the Dead were carry'd off in order to be buried. As soon as he perceived it, he slacken'd his Sails, and sent an Herald to the Enemy for Leave to carry off the Dead. Now by an establish'd Law founded upon Custom Immemorial, They who demanded a Truce in order to carry off their Dead, gave up all Pretensions to the Victory, and confessed themselves vanquished; insomuch that they were not suffer'd to erect a Trophy, because

(1) At present called *Cerigo*, an Island situated over-against *Laconia*, at the Bottom of the Promontory of *Malea*, where the *Lacedaemonians* had a Garrison, and whither

they sent Magistrates annually to administer Justice to the People. *Thucydides* in his fourth Book gives us an Account of this Expedition.

in Fact, They who have the Dead in their Power are properly Masters of the Field, and not They who demand them; for if they are, why do they not take them? Notwithstanding all This, *Nicias* (1) chose rather to give up the Honour of the Victory, than suffer two Citizens to lye unburied.

After he had scowred the Coast of *Laconia*, and forced the *Lacedemonians* that made Head against him to fly, he took (2) the Fort of *Thyræa*, garrison'd by the *Ægineta*, and carried them away Prisoners to *Athens*.

Demosthenes the *Athenian* General (3) having fortified *Pylos*, the *Peloponnesians* immediately thereupon quitted *Attica*, where they had committed great Waste, and laid close Siege to it both by Sea and Land; but being overthrown in an Engagement, they threw about four hundred *Spartans* into the Island of *Sphacteria*. The *Athenians* thought it very material to their Service, as indeed it was, to take those Men Prisoners. But the Siege proved very troublesom and difficult, for the Country afforded them no Water, and they could not receive their Convoys without a prodigious Expence and Trouble, for it was necessary for them to go a great way about in the Summer, and in Winter the Passage was impracticable. This made them

(1) This Care of the Dead was a Duty so incumbent upon them, that about Eight Years after the Death of *Nicias*, the *Athenians* put Six of their Generals to death for not burying the Soldiers that were slain in the Battel with the *Arginusians*.

(2) *Thyræa* was a Fort situate between *Laconia*, and the Country of the *Argians*. It belonged of right to the *Lacedemonians*, but they gave it to the *Ægineta*, who had been driven out of their Coun-

try. *Thucyd. Lib. 4.*

(3) The *Peloponnesians* and their Allies had enter'd *Attica* under the Conduct of *Agis* the Son of *Archdamus*, and ravag'd the Country. In the mean time *Demosthenes* the *Athenian* General seized on *Pylos*, and fortified it. This oblig'd *Agis* to quit *Attica*, and hasten to the Succour of his own Country. The Reader will find an Account of this at large in the fourth Book of *Thucydides*.

soon weary of their Undertaking, and repent their having dismiss'd the Ambassadors sent by the *Lacedaemonians* to negotiate a Peace between them. They had taken that Step at the Instigation of *Cleon*, who oppos'd the Peace out of Pique to *Nicias*, for he was his declared Enemy, and when he saw that *Nicias* made use of all his Credit to support the *Spartans* in their Demands, because he found it advantageous to the *Athenians*, He on the contrary perswaded the People to reject all Offers of Accommodation; and his Advice prevailed.

Now when they found the Siege hold out much longer than they expected, and heard their Army labour'd under many Inconveniences, and that their Men were in want of every thing, they began to be enrag'd at *Cleon*. He laid the whole Blame upon *Nicias*, charging him with Softness and Cowardice, by which he suffer'd the Enemy to escape. If I, said he, *had been General, the Spartans should not have held out so long.* Here the *Athenians* took him at his Word, and with one Voice said, *Go Thou then this very Minute against them;* and *Nicias* rising up said, *I very willingly yield to Cleon the Honour of this Expedition against Pylos.* At the same time he order'd him to raise what Forces he thought necessary, and embark without loss of time. *Do not spend thy Breath here,* added He, *in fine Speeches and Bravadoes where there is no Danger, but go, and render some memorable and important Service to thy Country.*

Cleon surprized and confounded to be thus taken at his Word, began to draw back, and unsay what he had advanced; but the *Athenians* peremptorily commanding him to depart, and *Nicias* insulting him in his turn, he was at once fir'd with Courage and Ambition, and did not only take the Charge upon him, but had the Folly, just as he was embarking, to limit the Time, and declare, that within the space of twenty Days he would either kill the

the Enemy upon the Spot, or bring them Prisoners to *Athens*. (1) This the *Athenians* were readier to laugh at, than to believe; for on other Occasions, his *Flashes* and *Extravagances* used to make them laugh, and divert them.

As for Instance, it is reported, that once when the People were assembled, and had waited his coming a long time, at last he entered with a *Garland* on his Head, and prayed them to adjourn to the next day, *For* (quoth he) *I am not at leisure to-day, I have Sacrificed to the Gods, and am to Feast my Strangers*. Whereupon the *Athenians* laughing, rose up, and dissolved the Assembly. However, at this time he had the lucky hit, and commanded so gallantly, in Conjunction with *Demosthenes*, that within the time he had limited, he brought Captive to *Athens* all the *Spartans* that had not fall'n in Battel.

This brought an horrible Disgrace on *Nicias*; for if it be ignominious to throw away the Shield in time of Battel, it is much more so to abandon out of Fear and Cowardice the Command of the Army, and by putting it into the Hands of his Enemy, give Him an Opportunity of signalizing himself by so important an Action.

Aristophanes has a Fling at him on this Occasion, in his *Birds*, saying thus,

*No time, by Jove, is left for us to snort in,
Nor to be restif, like Nicias—*

(1) It was something unaccountable in the *Athenians* to commit the Command of their Forces to such a Buffoon and Coxcomb as *Cleon*, who was the Subject of their Ridicule. For This *Thucydides* gives us a Reason, which *Plutarch* has omitted. He saith this Hair-brain's Promise was not unacceptable to the wiser sort, because they hoped for One of these two Things; either that they should have the Pleasure of seeing the *Lacedaemonians* brought Prisoners to *Athens*, if *Cleon* succeeded; or if he miscarryed, that then they should get rid of Him. But I think they run too great a Risque for this last Alternative.

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And in his *Husbandmen* he introduceth two *Athenians*, One of whom chose rather to pay a Fine than take upon him the Command, and saith thus,

- A. *I had rather stay at home, and mind my Farm.*
 B. *Well, and who hinders thee?*
 A. *You hinder me; and yet I am willing to pay a thousand Drachmas to be excused from this Office.*
 B. *Let us see them; they will make two thousand when added to Those Nicias has paid on the same Account.*

Besides all This, he did a vast Prejudice to the City, by suffering the Accession of so great Reputation and Power to *Cleon*; whereby he assum'd that turbulent Spirit, and unbridled Impudence, and open'd the door for infinite Mischiefs to the Commonwealth, of all which *Nicias* had his full Share. For now *Cleon* banish'd all Decorum from the Pulpit, and first of all broke out into Exclamations, flung open his Cloak, smote his Thigh, and ran up and down whilst he was speaking, which soon after introduced amongst Those who manag'd the Affairs of State such Licence and Contempt of Decency, as brought All into Confusion.

About this time *Alcibiades* began to make a Figure, and harangue the People. He was neither so corrupt nor licentious as the other Demagogues; but as the Land of *Ægypt*, which through the Richness of the Soil, is said,

——Great Plenty to produce,
 Both wholsom Herbs, and Drugs of deadly Juice;

So the Nature of *Alcibiades* was strong and luxuriant in both kinds, and made way for a great many Innovations. Whereby it fell out, that after *Nicias* had got his hands clear of *Cleon*, yet had he not opportunity to settle the City perfectly in Quiet-

ness. For having brought matters to a pretty fair pass, all was dash'd and plung'd again into Confusion through the Impetuosity and extravagant Ambition of *Alcibiades*; and He embroiled again in War worse than ever. Which fell out thus.

They who principally opposed the Peace of *Greece* were *Cleon* and *Brasidas*; War setting off the Virtue of the One, and hiding the Villany of the Other; it gave to the One Occasions of atchieving brave Actions, to the Other of committing enormous Crimes. Now when these two were both slain, in an Engagement near *Amphipolis*; *Nicias* having perceived that the *Spartans* had long been desirous of a Peace, and that the *Athenians* had no great Stomach to the War; Both being alike tir'd, and (as it were by Consent) laying down their Arms: He therefore in this nick of time employed all his Might to re-establish a Friendship betwixt these two Cities, and to deliver the other States of *Greece* from the Evils and Calamities they labour'd under, and so secure their Happiness to After-Ages. He found the Men of Substance, the Aged, and the Husbandmen generally inclin'd to Peace; besides These, he discoursed many Others in private, and so prevailed upon them by his Reasons and Remonstrances, that he made them more tractable, and not so keen as before for the War.

Having thus prepared the Way he revived the Hopes of the *Lacedemonians*, by giving them to understand that every thing seem'd to be in a favourable Disposition, and that now was their time to propose a Peace. They confided in him, as in One whose Moderation they had experienc'd, and who had given them a strong Proof of his Friendship in the great care he took of the Prisoners that had been taken at *Pylos*, which made their Chains sit easy upon them.

B ;

Both

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Both Parties had already taken one Step towards a Peace, by agreeing to a Cessation for a Year, during which they conversed every day with one another, and tasting the Sweets of Security and Repose, and the Charms arising from the Liberty of a free Intercourse with Strangers, as well as Friends, they by degrees grew averse to War, and the Effusion of Blood. They heard with great Demonstrations of Joy and Delight the Chorus singing in their Tragedies,

*Rest my Launce, let no Man mind thee,
'Till around the Cobwebs bind thee.*

And with Joy remembered that Saying, *They who rest in the Bosom of Peace have not their Sleep broken with the Sound of the Trumpet, but are agreeably awaken'd by the Crow of the Cock.* Reviling therefore, and ill treating Those who maintain'd that it was decreed by Fate (1) that the War should hold out thrice nine Years, they enter'd into Conferences, (2) and at last signed the Peace.

Most People perswaded themselves, that now an effectual End was put to all their Calamities, and *Nicias* was in the Mouth of every Man. They said he was a Person beloved by the Gods, and that in recompense for his Piety, they had given him a

(1) It appears by a Passage in *Thucydides*, that this was grown a common Report, built on the Credit of some ancient Oracles. I remember, saith he, lib. 5. that from the Beginning of this War to the final Conclusion of it, many maintained that it was to last for three times Nine Years. And so it happened; for if we reckon the ten first Years of the War, the Truce very short, and ill observed that followed it, the Treaties ill executed, and the

War that broke out, and was renewed thereupon, we shall find that the Event has made good to a Title, what had been foretold by the Oracles.

(2) The Year following. This Peace was signed, as *Thucydides* tells us, for Fifty Years, the twenty fourth day of *Elaphebolion* (April) soon after the Feast of *Bacchus*, ten Years, and some Days after it began, upon the first Incurfion of the *Lacedamonians* into *Attica*.

Name

Name drawn from the most desirable thing in the whole World. For they as much believed the Peace to be the Work of *Nicias*, as the War to have been That of *Pericles*. And indeed *Pericles* had on very slight Pretences plunged them into Calamities without Number; whereas *Nicias* perswaded them to overlook, and forget past Offences, and become Friends; for which Reason that Peace is to this very Day called *the Nician Peace*.

By the Articles of this Peace it was agreed, that all Places and Prisoners should be restored on each Side, and that the Lot should determine who should first begin the Restitution. *Nicias*, as *Theophrastus* writes, purchased the Lot with Money, to the end the *Lacedæmonians* might be first obliged to evacuate. The *Corinthians* and *Bæotians* appear'd very much dissatisfied at this Treaty, and by their Complaints and Accusations had like to have renew'd the War. But *Nicias* perswaded the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* to guarantee, as it were, the Peace by a League offensive and defensive, which would render them more formidable to Those who had a Mind to separate from them, and bind them still closer to each other.

Whilst these Matters were on foot, *Alcibiades*, who was not of an Humour to be quiet, and hated the *Lacedæmonians*, because they made all their Applications to *Nicias*, and overlook'd and despised Him, did from first to last do all he could to break off the Negotiations, and prevent the Peace, but all in vain. But some time after, seeing the *Athenians* not well pleased with the *Lacedæmonians*, who they thought did them an Injury in their League with the *Bæotians*, and forasmuch as they had not deliver'd to them *Panæctus* and *Amphipolis*, in the Manner and Condition prescribed by the Treaty, he made use of this Handle to irritate the People, and laid the greatest Stress upon every trifling Circumstance.

At last having procured an Ambassady to be sent from *Argos*, he did all he could to form a Confederacy between the *Argives* and *Athenians*.

Upon This the *Spartans* sent their Ambassadors with full Power to *Athens*, where they were admitted to Audience, and laid before the Council their Complaints and Demands. There was hardly a Man of Sense in *Athens*, but thought they had Reason and Justice on their Side. Wherefore *Alcibiades*, dreading the Effects of their Speeches to the People, relolved to circumvent them; Accordingly he assured them with solemn Asseverations, *that he would assist them with all his Credit, provided they deny'd having full Powers; which, he said, was the only way for them to succeed in their Negotiation.* The Ambassadors depended upon him, and being thus decoy'd from *Nicias*, they made use of *Alcibiades*.

When he had thus prepared them, he immediately conducted them into the Assembly of the People, where with a loud Voice he demanded of them, *if they had full Powers such as were necessary for the settling every thing in dispute between them?* They declared they had not; whereupon *Alcibiades*, contrary to their Expectations, changed his Countenance on a sudden, and calling the Council to witness their Declaration before Them, exhorted the People *to give no Credit nor so much as a Hearing to such notorious Liars, who upon the very same Subject can say one thing to-day, and to-morrow affirm the quite contrary.*

The Confusion and Surprize the Ambassadors were in on this Occasion cannot be expressed. *Nicias* Himself was at a Loss what to say or think, and was struck with Wonder and Amazement. Immediately the People called out for the Ambassadors of *Argos*, and were for entring into an Alliance with Them. But that very Instant interviened an Earthquake, which, very seasonably for *Nicias*, broke up the Assembly. The

The next day, the People being again assembled, *Nicias* with much ado prevail'd to have the Treaty with the *Argives* postpon'd for the present, and to get (1) Himself sent Ambassador to *Sparta*, in which Case he assured them every thing should go right, and to their Satisfaction.

At his Arrival in *Sparta* he was honour'd and respected by all the *Lacedæmonians*, who look'd on him as an honest Man, and one who had express'd a great deal of Friendship for them on all Occasions. Notwithstanding This (2) he could not carry any one of his Points, but being over-rul'd by Those who were in the Interest of the *Bœotians*, he returned as he came, not only baffled and despised, but even in Fear of the Resentment of the *Athenians*, who were enraged at him for being the Means of releasing a Number of such considerable Prisoners. For the *Spartans*, who had been brought from *Pylos* to *Athens*, were of the first Families in *Sparta*, and related or ally'd to Persons of the greatest Interest and Authority in the City. However their Indignation proceeded no farther against him, than to make choice of *Alcibiades* for their General. At the same time they enter'd into an Alliance with the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*, who had deserted the *Lacedæmonians*, received the *Argives* into it, and sent some Troops to *Pylos* to infest La-

(1) He was not sent alone, but Others were joined with him, as we learn from *Thucydides*, who has given us a very distinct Account of this whole Affair. *Nicias* indeed was Chief of the Embassy.

(2) In the first Audience, *Nicias* laid before them all the Demands of the *Athenians*, and all their Complaints and concluded, telling them, that if the *Lacedæmonians* did not renounce the Alliance they had lately enter'd into with the *Bœotians*, who

had not been comprised in the Treaty of Peace. the *Athenians* would strike up a League with the *Argives* and their Allies. The *Lacedæmonians* being hurried on by the Faction of One of the *Ephori*, reply'd, That they would not renounce their Alliance with the *Bœotians*. All that *Nicias* could obtain of them, that it might not be said he returned without effecting anything, was, that they once more swore to the Observance of the Peace.

conia.

conia. Thus they relapsed into the War, which they once so much dreaded.

The Enmity between *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* was at the highest pitch, when the Season for the *Ostracism* approached. It was a Custom with the *Athenians* to revive that Form of Proceeding at different Periods, when they had a Mind to ease themselves for the Space of ten Years of any Person whom they suspected for his Reputation, or envied for his Riches. This put them Both under strong Apprehensions, for they had great Reason to think the Judgment would unavoidably fall upon One of them. The *Athenians* detested *Alcibiades* for his Intemperance and Debauchery, and stood in Fear of his Forwardness and Intrepidity, as appears more plainly in the Account we have given of him in his Life. *Nicias* his immense Wealth had excited their Envy against Him, which was aggravated by his austere unpopular way of living, void of all manner of Gentleness and Humanity, reserved and unsociable. Besides he had oppos'd their darling Schemes, and forced them upon those Measures which were most beneficial to the Publick, and This made him still more odious. In a Word, the City was divided into two Parties, the young Men and Soldiers of Fortune were for a War, whilst the old Men and more sedate Citizens were for preserving the Peace. The First of These were for making the *Ostracism* fall upon *Nicias*, and the Other made use of all their Interest to divert it upon *Alcibiades*: but as it has been well observed (1) *in times of Sedition it is usual for the most Profligate to get the upper hand*; Thus it fell out on this Occasion. The City being divided into Factions, gave way to the most insolent and profligate of Mankind; amongst

(1) This is a Truth confirmed by Experience. A bold enterprising Villain shall make his Advantage of troublesome seditious Times, whilst it is out of an honest Man's Power to oppose him.

whom

whom was *Hyperbolus* of the Borough of *Perithoides*; a Fellow not presuming from any Power of his Own, but from his Presumption rising into Power; and by the Honour he found in the City, becoming a Scandal to it.

This Wretch thinking Himself out of all Danger, and owing his Security to his Unworthiness, as indeed he was fitter for the Gallows than the *Ostracism*, flatter'd himself with the Thoughts, that if the Lot fell either on *Nicias* or *Alcibiades*, He should be able to manage the Party against Him that escaped. This made him highly pleased at that Dissention, and encouraged him to irritate the People against them Both; but *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* perceiving his Malice, consented to a private Meeting, at which they agreed to unite their Interests, so that They Both escaped, and the Sentence fell on *Hyperbolus*.

At first the People laugh'd, and made a Jest of it; but afterwards, when they came to consider seriously, they took it in another View. They were extremely provoked, when they reflected that so worthless a Fellow as *Hyperbolus* was a Dishonour and Indignity to the Punishment, which was proper indeed for a *Thucydides*, an *Aristides*, and Others of like Eminence and Merit, but that it was what an *Hyperbolus* might glory in, when he received the same Punishment for his Crimes, which had been inflicted on Men of Worth for their Virtues. This is what *Plato* the Comick Poet alluded to when he said; *It is true he deserv'd to be punished for his Enormities, but such a branded Villain was unworthy the Punishment he received. The Ostracism was not contrived for Slaves like Him.*

And indeed no Person ever after That was banished by the Decree of *Ostracism*. This *Hyperbolus* was the Last, and *Hipparchus* the *Cholargian*, who was nearly related to the Tyrant, was the First.

From

From this Event it is evident, that (1) Fortune is incomprehensible, and above human reasoning. If *Nicias* had shared in the Danger of this Sentence with *Alcibiades*, One of these two Things must have happened; either he must have prevailed and remov'd his Competitor, by which Means he would have remained absolute in *Athens*; or he must have been out voted, and banished Himself, and in that Case he would have prevented his last Calamities, and preserv'd the Reputation of a wise experienced Commander.

I am not Ignorant that *Theophrastus* says, *Hyperbolus* was banish'd, when *Pheax*, not *Nicias*, contested it with *Alcibiades*; but most Authors differ from him.

About this time arrived at *Athens* Ambassadors from the *Egeftians*, and *Leontins*, to press the *Athenians* to carry the War into *Sicily*. (2) *Nicias* opposed this Expedition with all his Might, but was overpowered by the Activity and Ambition of *Alcibiades*, who, before the Day appointed for the Assembly, had prepossess'd the People, and puffed them up with vain Hopes, and Imaginations. Inso-much that the Youth in their places of Exercise, and the old Men in their Shops and Evening Meetings, employ'd all their time in drawing Maps of *Sicily*, in describing the Nature and Quality of the Sea that surrounds it, the Commodiousness of the Havens, and the Coast opposite to *Africk*. For

(1) *Plutarch* saith This to shew how much *Nicias* was mistaken in the Measures he took with *Alcibiades* to avoid the Ostracism. He thought it would prove a lucky Hit, and be the making of him, whereas it proved his Ruin. The ways of Fortune are incomprehensible, and Man's Blindness incurable.

Thucydides, who in his sixth

Book has given us all the Particulars of that War, relates the Speech made by *Nicias* in full Council to deter the *Athenians* from it, and That of *Alcibiades* to perswade them to it, together with the Second by *Nicias* to lay before them the mighty Preparations they must make before they can assure themselves of Success. These are three Master-pieces.

they

they did not consider *Sicily* as the End of the War, but thought of making it a Place of Arms, and an Arsenal, from whence they might conquer *Carthage*, and make themselves Masters of *Africk*, and all the Seas as far as the Pillars of *Hercules*.

Whilst their thoughts were full of this Expedition, *Nicias*, who opposed it, had neither the People nor the Nobility to support him. The Wealthy were afraid that their Opposition might be ill interpreted, and that it would be thought They were against it, for fear of being brought upon the Service, and to avoid the Expence they must be at towards fitting out the Gallies. This made Them acquiesce contrary to their Sentiments.

Notwithstanding all This, *Nicias* was not discouraged, but still persisted in his Opposition; and when the *Athenians* had passed the Decree, and He was chosen General in the first Place with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, in the very first Assembly after he stood up, spoke vehemently against the Undertaking, protested against the Decree, attacked *Alcibiades* by Name, and reproached him for that out of a selfish View to his own Interest, and to gratify his Ambition, he drew his City into a foreign War, which would prove fatal to the Commonwealth. But all he could say signified nothing; on the contrary, his great Experience made him thought the fittest for the Employment, and they built their Hopes of Success on nothing so much as his Caution and Timidity, joined with *Alcibiades* his Bravery, and the Mildness of *Lamachus*. Besides, one of the Orators named *Demosstratus*, who had been the most zealous to spur on the *Athenians* to this Expedition, stood up, and said, he would prevent *Nicias* from urging any more vain Excuses, and thereupon moved that the Generals might have absolute Power both at home and abroad, to Order and Act as they thought fitting, and This he got pass'd into a Law.

How-

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However, the Priests are said to have very earnestly opposed this Enterprize. But *Alcibiades* had his *Divines* of another Cut, who trump'd up some old Oracles, importing that *the Athenians were to get great Renown in Sicily*. At the same time, certain Pilgrims came to him from *Jupiter Ammon*, with an Oracle declaring in exprefs Terms, that *the Athenians should take all the Syracusians*.

They who knew any thing that boded ill, concealed it, lest they might seem to foreshadow ill luck; for even Prodigies that were obvious and plain, would not deter them; (1) not the defacing of the *Hermæ*, all which were maimed in one Night, except That called the *Herma* of *Andocides*, erected by the *Ægean* Tribe, and placed before the House which was then in the Possession of *Andocides*. Nor what was perpetrated on the Altar of the *twelve Gods*, where a certain Man leap'd suddenly upon the Altar, and with a Stone cut off his Privities. There stood in the Temple at *Delphi* a golden Statue of *Minerva* placed on a Palm-tree of Brass, an Offering which the City of *Athens* had made out of the Spoils taken from the *Medes*. A Flight of Crows rested upon this Statue, peck'd it for several Days together, pluck'd off the Fruit from the Palm-tree, which was of Gold, and flung it upon the Ground. The *Athenians*, to elude these Presages said, that they were Fictions invented by the Delphians, who had been corrupted by the Inhabitants of *Syracuse*. The *Athenians* had been directed by a certain Oracle to remove the Priestess of *Minerva* from *Clazomene* to *Athens*, accordingly they sent for her, and it appeared that her Name was *Hesychia*; so that in all likelyhood, the Scope of that Oracle was to advise the *Athenians* to be quiet.

(1) This happened just at that Figures, plac'd by the *Athenians* very time. These *Hermæ*, or Statues of *Mercury*, were four-square at the Doors of their Houses, and the Gates of their Temples.

Whether therefore the Astrologer *Meton* was terrified at these Presages, or that from the Rules of his Art, or the Strength of reasoning, he was doubtful of the Success of this Expedition, wherein he had a Commission, whatever it was he feigned himself mad, and set his House on Fire. Others say, he did not counterfeit himself mad, but set his House on Fire in the Night, and the next Morning went into the Court in woful plight, and beseeched the People (1) in Consideration of the sad Disaster, to release his Son from the Service, who was ordered to go Captain of a Gally, and was just ready to embark.

(2) The Genius of *Socrates* did on this Occasion by the usual Signs reveal to him what would be the Event of that Expedition, intimating that it would be the Ruin of the Commonwealth. *Socrates* imparted This to his Friends and Others of his Acquaintance, and the Report soon became publick. Many were much troubled and discouraged, because of a Festival, which fell out at the time when they were embarking the Troops, and the Fleet was just ready to sail. The Women were at that very time celebrating the Feast of *Adonis*, during which the Streets were full of Images of the Dead, and funeral Processions, and rung with the Cries and Lamentations of Those, who assisted at the Solemnity: So that Such as laid any stress on these Matters, were extreemly troubled; and feared lest

(1) *Meton* thought he should be sufficiently recompensed for the loss of his House if he could keep his Son out of harm's way, and prevent the great Charges he was obliged to bear in fitting out of a Galley. The Fear of losing his Son, and the Consideration of such an Expence might have as great a Share in that Action of His, as his

Forefight of the Misfortunes, of which his Art had led him into the Discovery.

(2) This is what *Socrates* saith Himself in the *Theages*. You may still learn from Many of our Citizens what I said upon the Expulsion into Sicily, and the great Blow we were to receive in that Island.

that

that all these warlike Preparations, so Splendid and so Glorious, should be blasted on a sudden, and come to nothing.

But to return to *Nicias*: That he always opposed this Expedition whilst the People had it under Deliberation, and when he was named General, not to suffer himself to be puffed up with vain Hopes, nor transported with the Honour of his high Command, to have constantly persisted in his Opposition without ever changing his Opinion, This was done like an honest, and wise Man. But when he saw that he could not divert the People from the War with all his Efforts, nor get himself exempted from the Command with all his Intreaties, but that he was thrust into it as it were by Head and Shoulders, and forcibly placed at the Head of so powerful an Army, it was then too late to display his timorous Foresight; his Delays were out of Season, and it was childish in him to be continually looking back, repeating a thousand times over that he had been over-ruled, and that the War was undertaken contrary to his Opinion. (1) This only served to dishearten his Collegues, blunt the Courage of his Troops, and deaden in them that Spirit and Confidence, which is the Pledge of Success in all important Undertakings. He ought rather to have rushed upon the Enemy immediately, brought the Matter to an Issue, and have debated the Point with Fortune at the Head of his Battallions.

(2) Instead of which, when *Lamachus* proposed to sail directly to *Syracuse*, and give the Enemy Battel

(1) *Plutarch's* Censure on this Occasion is very reasonable. When once a thing is resolved upon, we ought to think of nothing but how to accomplish it, and He that opposed it whilst it was under Deliberation, is then obliged to forward it with all his Power,

(2) That was the best Advice that could be given, for which he likewise gave his Reasons. *Lamachus* said, *Thucyd. lib. vi. they ought to steer immediately for Syracuse, and bring the Enemy to an Engagement as once before the Walls, whilst they were in a Fright, and unprepared*

Battel under the Walls of their City, and *Alcibiades* was of Opinion to begin by drawing the Cities into a Revolt, and then to march against them; *Nicias* dissented from them Both, and stiffly insisted, that they should cruise around the Island, and alarm the Coasts, and having landed a small Supply of Men for the *Egefeans*, (1) return to *Athens*. Thus he distracted their Counsels, and cast down the Spirits of the Men.

Soon after This, the *Athenians* having recalled *Alcibiades*, and ordered him home to take his Tryal, *Nicias*, tho' join'd with Another in Commission, yet First in Authority, seemed made up of nothing but Delays. Sometimes he lay idle without attempting any thing, and at Others he cruised up and down, as it were to keep his Men in Exercise; and a great part of his time he spent in Deliberation. By this means that vigorous Hope and Expectation with which his Troops seemed to glow at their first setting out, grew stale and languid, whilst on the contrary, the Fear and Terror with which the Enemy were seized at the first Appearance of so formidable a Power wore off, and left them.

It is true, that before *Alcibiades* was recalled, they advanced with sixty Gallies towards *Syracuse*, fifty of which they drew up in Battalia before the Haven, and the other Ten they sent in to take a View of the Place. These advancing up to the Walls,

unprepared to receive them. For an Army that comes unexpectedly upon the Enemy, is always most terrible; but if it be expected long before it appears, it gives them time to recover themselves and of their Fright, and encourages them to look on it with Contempt when they see it, &c.

(1) It cannot easily be conceived how so wise, and experienced a Commander as *Nicias* could be ca-

pable of such childish Advice; for That was the way to lose all the Fruits of the Expedition, by giving the *Sicilians* time to prepare for their Defence. But we must consider what his Views were, his only Aim was to elude and evade that War, and give the *Athenians* a Dislike of it by the grand Difficulties which they saw attending it.

caused it to be proclaimed by a Herald, (1) *that the Leontines were at liberty to return, and take Possession of their City.*

This Squadron took a Galley of the Enemy's, wherein they found certain Tablets, on which was set down a List of all the *Syracusians*, according to their Tribes. These were wont to be laid up remote from the City, in the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, but were now brought forth to furnish a Muster-roll of such as were of an Age fit to bear Arms. These being thus taken by the *Athenians*, and carried to the Generals, when they saw such an infinite Number of Names, (for the whole Body of the *Syracusians* were included in that List) the Divines put an unfortunate Construction upon it, intimating, that thus the Oracle was fulfilled, which had foretold *THAT THE ATHENIANS SHOULD TAKE ALL THE SYRACUSIANS*. It is said indeed, that this Oracle was literally fulfilled at another time, when *Calippus*, after he had slain *Dion*, made himself Master of *Syracuse*.

After the Departure of *Alcibiades*, and some Few that attended him, *Nicias* had all the Power and Authority in his own Hands. *Lamachus* indeed was a Man of great Courage and Justice, and very free of his Person in an Engagement, but withal so low, and needy, that whenever he had the Command of the Army, at his return when he was to pass his Accounts, he always charged the Publick with a small Sum laid out for Cloaths, and Shoes. But *Nicias*, as he was proud, and valued himself upon his many other high Qualities, so did he more especially on the Reputation of his Riches.

(1) They ordered it to be proclaimed by a Herald, that the *Athenians* were come to restore the *Leontines* to their Country, in virtue of the Relation and Alliance between them, for which reason all the *Leontines* that were then in *Syracuse*, might betake themselves boldly and without any Fear, to the *Athenians* their Friends and Benefactors.

It

It is said, that once, upon another Occasion, when He and his Collegues were sitting together in Council, he desired *Sophocles* the Poet, who was one of Those joined in Commission with him, to deliver his Opinion first, because he was the eldest. *I am,* replied *Sophocles*, *indeed your Senior in point of Years, but You are my Superior in point of Merit and Dignity.*

Looking therefore on *Lamachus* as his Subaltern, rather than Collegue, tho' he was an abler Officer, and understood military Affairs much better, he did nothing but spin out the time, and carried on the War slowly, and with a timorous Circumspection, sailing now and then round the Island, but always keeping aloof from the Enemy, which added much to their Courage and Confidence. After this, he went and sat down before *Hybla*, a Town of little Consequence or Defence, notwithstanding which he raised the Siege in a few Days, which made him still more despised by the Enemy than before. At last of all, he retired to *Catana* without the Performance of any one Action but the demolishing *Heccara* a poor Quarter belonging to the *Barbarians*. Here it is said, *Lais* the Courtezan being then very young, and a Virgin, was sold among other Captives, and carried into *Peloponnesus*.

Towards the end of the Summer, he was informed that the *Syracusians*, taking Courage, were preparing to attack Him, and strike the first Blow; and the Cavalry were already come with great Insolence to insult him in his Camp, asking him with a Sneer, *If he was not rather come to settle at Catana, than to restore the Leontines to their Houses and Possessions?*

It was with much ado that *Nicias* could resolve on this Occasion to sail for *Syracuse*. But as he was desirous to form his Camp before the Place with-

out Molestation, (1) and have time to secure his Quarters, he secretly sent a Man from *Catana* to *Syracuse*, where he was to act the Part of a Deserter, and inform the *Syracusians*, that if they had a Mind to surprise the Camp of the Athenians, and make themselves Masters of their Arms and Baggage without striking a Stroke, they might easily do it on such a Day, which he named to them; for as the Athenians spent most of their time in the City, the Inhabitants, who in their Inclinations were in the Interest of *Syracuse*, had agreed, as soon as They appeared, to seize on the City Gates, and set fire to their Fleet; that the Number of Those who were engaged in this Undertaking, was very great, and only waited for their Arrival.

This was the only warlike Exploit of Consequence that he performed all the while he was in *Sicily*. For having by this Stratagem enticed the Enemy out of the City, which was left destitute, and defenceless, he sailed directly thither from *Catana*, seized at once on all the Ports, and made choice of an advantageous Piece of Ground for his Encampment, where the Enemy could not annoy him with what They most excelled in, and from whence He might attack Them without any Impediment with That, wherein he placed his greatest Trust and Confidence.

When the *Syracusians* returned from *Catana*, and drew up in Battel-Array before the City-Gates, he on the sudden drawing forth the *Athenians*, fell on them and defeated them. However, he slew not many on that Occasion, for the Horse hinder'd the Pursuit. He had broken down, and

(1) He knew very well, as *Thucydides* tells us, that it would be impossible for him to succeed, if he attempted a Descent upon a People, who were aware, and prepared to receive him, much less

if he pretended to march by Land, for as he had no Cavalry in his Army, and the Enemy were provided with a strong and well-appointed Body of Horse, he must be exposed to infinite Dangers.

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demolished all the Bridges that lay over the River, which gave Occasion to *Hermocrates* General of the *Syracusians* to encourage his Men with this witty Saying, *Nicias is a merry Officer, tho' he is at the Head of an Army, his great Care is to avoid Fighting, as if Fighting was not the Business he came for.* However this Defeat of their Forces put them into so terrible a Fright, and Consternation, (1) that instead of fifteen Generals then in Commission, they reduced the Number to Three, whom the People obliged themselves by Oath to obey in every thing, and gave them a full Power to resolve and act as they thought convenient, without waiting for any fresh Orders.

The Temple of *Jupiter* the *Olympian* stood near the Camp of the *Athenians*, which they had a great Mind to take, because it was enriched with many Offerings both of Gold and Silver, which the Devotion of their Kings and the People had consecrated to the Deity. *Nicias* delay'd from time to time to order any Troops thither to seize it, and thereby gave the *Syracusians* an Opportunity of sending a Detachment to secure it. This he did on purpose, (2) conceiving that if the Soldiers were suffered

to

(1) *Plutarch* imputes That to the Fright and Terror the *Syracusians* were in, which was the pure Effect of their Prudence. For they had not thought of lessening the Number of their Generals if *Hermocrates* in a Council called after the Battel had not represented to them that their late Disgrace was in a great measure owing to the Number of their Commanders, of Whom they had no less than fifteen; and there is nothing so prejudicial to an Army as a Number of Generals, according to that Sentence in *Homer*, *A plurality of*

Governors is not good. Even Three were too many.

(2) It is very commendable in a General to have a Veneration for the Temples, even tho' they belong to the Enemy, for he is not by his Commission to war with the Gods. *Homer* in the first *Iliad* gives us to understand that the *Greeks* spared *Chrysa*, *Cilla*, and *Tenedos*, without committing any the least Act of Hostility against them, in Reverence to the God who presided over them. There are some modern *Casuits*, who have maintained that *Nicias* was

The L I F E of

to pillage it, the Publick would receive no Benefit by it, and the Guilt of Sacrilege would fall upon Him.

The News of the late Victory soon spread over all *Sicily*, and yet *Nicias* made not the least Improvement of it; for a few Days after he withdrew his Troops to *Naxos*, a Town situate between *Catana* and *Syracuse*, where the Army lay in Winter Quarters at a vast Expence, whilst he performed only a few inconsiderable Actions, with the Assistance of some *Sicilians* that had revolted to him. Insomuch that the *Syracusians*, who were by this time recovered out of their Fright, had the Courage to return to *Catana*, where they ravaged the Country, and burnt the Camp of the *Athenians*. The Blame of all This was laid upon *Nicias*, who was always reasoning, debating, and contriving, when he should be at Work; and yet when once he was enter'd, no Man could find fault with his Behaviour, for he was as quick and vigorous in Action, as he was slow and timorous in Resolution.

Having determined to return with his Army before *Syracuse*, he managed it with so much Prudence and Celerity, and at the same time with so much Caution and Security, that he got with his Gallies to the *Peninsula* of *Thapsus*, made his Descent from thence, and got Possession of the Fort of *Epipolæ*, before the Enemy had the least Notice of his Motions. On this Occasion, he defeated some Regiments of Foot sent to the Assistance of the

too scrupulous in not laying his Hand upon the Riches with which that Temple abounded. " Was it " not in his Power, say they, so to " have taken his Measures as to " have hindred it from being pil- " laged, and have applied its Treas- " ures to the Services of the Ar-	my? Why must it be left to be " made use of by the Enemy? Su- " perstition is but a poor Fund to " answer the Necessities of War." But for my Part I think this Scru- ple in <i>Nicias</i> very just, and well founded.
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Fort, took three hundred Prisoners, and routed their Cavalry, which 'till then had passed for invincible.

But That which chiefly astonish'd the *Syracusians*, and seem'd incredible to the *Grecians*, was that in a short space of time he enclosed *Syracuse* within a Wall, a City not less than *Athens*, but far more difficult, from the unevenness of the Ground, the nearness of the Sea, and the Marshes that lay nigh it. Notwithstanding which this great Work was in a manner finished, tho' *Nicias* was all that while in an ill State of Health, from the Weight of Affairs with which he was daily incumber'd, and the Pain of the Stone, to which he was subject; and This may be allow'd to be the Reason why that Wall was not carry'd on to the utmost Perfection. For my Part I cannot but admire the indefatigable Care of the General, as well as the exemplary Courage of the Soldiers in the many successful Actions, wherein they were engaged. *Euripides* after their Defeat and Slaughter honour'd their Memory with this glorious Elegy.

(1) *These did eight times the Syracusians foil,
But then the Gods stood neuter all the while.*

(1) It was a Point in the Hea-then Theology, an Article in their Creed, that God did sometimes grant his Assistance to Men, and was the Cause of their Success, and at others he suffered them to act of themselves with their own Force and Power. We find this Sentiment establish'd in *Homer* in the Beginning of the thirteenth *Iliad*, whe he saith

*When now the Thund'rer on the Sea-beat Coast
Had fix'd great Hector, and his conqu'ring Host,
He left them to the Fates, in bloody*

*Fray
To toil and struggle through the well-fought Day.* Pope.

Euripides has follow'd the same Spirit in this bold Epitaph; but it is founded upon a false and impious Principle. Men never act from themselves but when they do ill. If any one asked *Euripides*, Who told You that the *Athenians* overcame the *Syracusians* Eight Times because the Gods stood just so many times Neuter, and not rather because the Gods were aiding them, and enabled them to conquer? what Answer would he have returned?

And in truth one shall not find only eight, but many more Victories won by these Men against the *Syracusians*; 'till the Gods or Fortune declared against them, and gave them a Check, at a time when they were arrived at the highest Point of their Power and Greatness. *Nicias* was present in Person in most of these Actions, in which he did Violence to an infirm and broken Constitution. But when his Distemper encreased, and was very sharp upon him, he was forced to keep his Bed, and retain a few Servants about him, to attend and administer to him.

In the mean time *Lamachus*, who was now Commander in Chief, made use of the Opportunity, and came to an Engagement with the *Syracusians*, who were drawing a cross Wall from the City in order to hinder the *Athenians* from finishing Theirs. The *Athenians* having the Advantage, and being flush'd with Victory, pursued the *Syracusians* too far, and left *Lamachus* almost naked and defenceless to sustain the Brunt of the Enemy's Horse, who were coming to attack him. They were commanded by *Callicrates*, an experienc'd Officer, and a Person of distinguish'd Courage. This Man advanced at the Head of his Troop, and challeng'd *Lamachus*, who immediately encounter'd him, and received the first Wound, which proved mortal, and which in the very Instant he return'd upon his Adversary, so that they Both fell down, and dyed together. The *Syracusians* remaining Masters of the Body and Arms of *Lamachus*, carry'd them off, and without losing a Moment's time, marched to the Retrenchments of the *Athenians*, where *Nicias* lay sick in Bed without any Guards to defend him. However as soon as he was inform'd of their Approach, he made a Virtue of Necessity, and being sensible of the Danger with which he was threaten'd, he commanded Those about him immediately to set

Fire to the Materials under the Wall, which had been provided for the Engines, and to the Engines themselves. This put a Stop to the *Syracusians*, and saved *Nicias*, together with the Intrenchments, and all the Treasure of the *Athenians*. For as soon as they beheld the Flames rising in vast Columns over their Heads, and spreading on every Side, they were terrified, and drew off.

After this Action *Nicias* was the sole Commander, and entertained great Hopes of Success. For many of the Cities revolted to him, and Ships arrived from all Parts with Provisions for his Army, every one being impatient to declare in his Favour, whilst his Affairs were in a prosperous Condition, and Fortune seemed to favour him. Insomuch that the *Syracusians* Themselves, thinking it impossible to hold out much longer, offer'd him Terms of Accommodation. And when *Gylippus*, who was coming to their Relief with a Squadron from *Sparta*, was inform'd by the Way of the Extremities to which they were reduced, and of the Wall that had hem'd them in, he continued his Course not with any Design to defend *Sicily*, which he gave for lost, but to preserve the Cities in *Italy*, if at least he came not too late even for that Service. For Fame had reported every where, that the *Athenians* carry'd all before them, and that they were under a General whom Prudence, seconded by Fortune, had render'd invincible. Even *Nicias* Himself, contrary to his natural Temper, presuming upon his Forces and Success, but especially perswaded by his Intelligence from *Syracuse*, and the Overtures he received from thence, that the City would soon surrender upon Terms, (1) was not in the least concerned at the Approach

(1) From this false Step in *Nicias*, we may learn, that even in to omit what ought in Prudence to be done for the Security of it, the Height of Success we are not and that the least Neglect may make

proach of *Gylippus*, nor sent out any Scouts to observe him; so that by the Favour of this Negligence and Contempt, the *Spartan* General got ashore in a long Boar, without the Knowledge of *Nicias*, or any of the *Athenians*. He landed at a great Distance from *Syracuse*, and soon raised a numerous Army. The *Syracusians* were so ignorant of his Arrival, and so little expected him, that they had that very Day summoned an Assembly to regulate the Articles of Capitulation, which they were to present to *Nicias*, and several were already met pressing Dispatch, that every thing might be settled before the Wall was compleatly finish'd, for there remained but very little to be done, and all the Materials lay ready upon the Place.

In this very nick of Time and Danger, (1) an Officer, called *Gongylus*, arrived on Board a Gally from *Corinth*. Immediately upon his Arrival all the World flocked about him, and He told them, that *Gylippus* was hard by, and that several other Ships were following with Succours to relieve them. Whilst the *Syracusians* were in Suspence, and knew not how to give Credit to *Gongylus*, an Express arrived from *Gylippus*, with Orders to them to march out and meet him. At This they took Heart, and armed immediately.

As soon as *Gylippus* arrived before the Town, he drew his Troops up in Form; *Nicias* on his part did the like, and the two Armies were just ready to engage, when *Gylippus* grounding his Arms, sent

make us lose all the Fruits of the most extraordinary Atchievements. If *Nicias* had sent never so small a Detachment to oppose the Approach of *Gylippus*, he had been Master of *Syracuse*, and the War had been at an End.

(1) This is no other than a plain, natural Narration. Plain Truth

well told by a judicious Writer, often presents to the Reader Turns and Surprizes as agreeable as the most ingenious and artificial Fictions. No Tragedy can afford us a more surprizing and agreeable Catastrophe than what we find in this plain inartificial Relation.

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a Herald to tell the *Athenians*, That if they would quit Sicily they had the publick Faith for their Security. *Nicias* would not vouchsafe an Answer to this Declaration, but some of the Soldiers fell a laughing, and ask'd the Herald, If the Sight of a Laconick Cloak and Staff had so suddenly mended the Affairs of the *Syracusians*, and put them in a Condition to despise the *Athenians*, who had very lately knock'd off the Chains of three hundred Spartans, and released them, who were all better Men, and wore longer Locks than *Gylippus*? *Timeus* writes, that the *Sicilians* never had any great Opinion of *Gylippus*. At first they laugh'd at him for his short Cloak and long Hair, as they afterwards hated him for his Avarice, and narrow Spirit. And yet the same Historian adds afterwards, that as soon as *Gylippus* appeared, they all flocked about him, (1) as the Birds do about an Owl, and list'd in the Service. And This is much more probable than what he said before, for the Cloak and Staff representing the Dignity of *Sparta*, they crouded to him out of Respect to his Authority. And *Thucydides* affirms, that all the Work was done by Him alone: so does *Philistus*, who was a *Syracusan*, and a Spectator of all that was transacted.

The *Athenians* had the Advantage in the first Encounter, and slew some of the *Syracusians*, together with *Gongylus* of *Corinth*. But the next Day *Gylippus* shew'd what it is to be a Man of Experience, for with the same Arms, the same Horses, and on the same Spot of Ground, (2) changing only the

(1) I know not what Foundation there is for this Opinion; unless it be that the Owl being consecrated to *Minerva*, it was imagin'd from thence, that the other Birds gathered about Her as about their Queen, to do her Homage.

(2) He was sensible of the ill Disposition he had made the day

before, and told his Men that the late Defeat was not from any Fault of Theirs, but was all purely his Own, forasmuch as having ranged them in Battel between Walls where they were too much straiten'd, he thereby deprived them of the use of their Cavalry, and Archers.

Order

Order of the Battel, he overthrew the *Athenians*; and They flying to their Camp, he set the *Syracusians* to work, and with the Stone and Materials that had been brought together for finishing the Wall of the *Athenians*, he built a Cross-Wall to intercept Theirs and break it down, so that nought remained to them of all their Expence and Labour.

The *Syracusians* being encouraged by this Success, mann'd out several Gallies, and in the Excursions of their Cavalry took many Prisoners. *Gylippus* himself visited the Towns, exhorting them to join with him; they all listen'd to him, and readily supply'd him. This made *Nicias* relapse into his former Diffidence, and reflecting on the sudden Change of Affairs he became dispirited, and wrote in pressing Terms to *Athens*, *Either to send another Army into Sicily, or withdraw That which was there at present. At the same time he insisted upon their sending another General to succeed Him, He being no longer capable of the Service by reason of his Infirmities.*

Before the *Athenians* had received these Letetrs they had resolv'd to send another Army into *Sicily*; but Some among them envying *Nicias* his late Success, so advantagious to his Country, and so glorious to Himself, retarded the Effects of that Resolution, under several specious Colours and Pretences, But now his Misfortunes wrought a quite contrary Effect, for they immediately decreed, that *Demosthenes* should sail in the very Beginning of the Spring with a strong naval Force, and *Eurymedon* proceed instantly in the Depth of Winter with six Gallies, and Pay for the Soldiers, and that upon his Arrival he should declare *Euthydemus* and *Menander*, two Officers who were serving under *Nicias*, to be joint Commissioners with him.

In the mean time *Nicias* was briskly attack'd both by Sea and Land; at first his Fleet was worsted by
that

That of *Syracuse*, but in the End the *Athenians* prevail'd, and sunk and destroy'd many of the Enemy's Gallies. He was not so successful by Land, for not being able to provide Succours in time, *Gylippus* fell upon and surprized *Plemmyrion* at the first Assault, and took in it all the Treasure of the *Athenians*, their Provisions, and naval Stores, which had been lodged there. Most of the Soldiers in Garrison were either killed or taken. But what was of greatest Importance, *Nicias* by the Loss of this Place lost the Convenience of his Convoys, for whilst *Plemmyrion* was in his Possession the Communication was safe and easy, but That being now taken, the Passage was difficult and hazardous, for his Transports could not possibly pass without fighting, for the Enemy's Ships lay at Anchor under that Fortrels.

Besides, the *Syracusians* began to be perswaded, that their late Defeat was not owing to the Strength and Superiority of the Enemy, but only to their own disorderly Pursuit. Wherefore they resolved upon a second Engagement, and accordingly fitted out another Fleet, more numerous and gallant than the former. But *Nicias* declin'd fighting, and declared, that at a time when they were in daily Expectation of a fresh Fleet, and powerful Reinforcements, which *Demosthenes* was bringing in great Diligence to them, it was a Madness in them to hazard an Engagement with an inferior Number of Ships, and Those ill provided. But *Menander* and *Euthydemus*, being puffed up with their new Authority, resolved upon some brave Action, wherein they might be before-hand with *Demosthenes*, and out-do even *Nicias*. Their Pretence was the Honour of *Athens*, and they maintain'd, with great Vehemence, that it would be an eternal Disgrace to their Country, if they declined fighting when the *Syracusians* dared them to Battel. This forced

Nicias

Nicias to an Engagement (1) wherein he was defeated by a Stratagem of *Ariston* the *Corinthian*, who had the Command of the Gallies of *Syracuse*. The left Wing of the *Athenians* was routed, as *Thucydides* relates it, and they lost great Numbers of their Men, and several Gallies.

This Loss threw *Nicias* under the greatest Consternation. He consider'd that he was not able to keep his Ground when he had the sole Command, and was now in a worse State than ever through the Obstinacy of his Companions.

In the mean time the Enemy descri'd *Demosthenes* riding before the Haven with an Equipage formidably magnificent: For he had with him twenty three Gallies, on board of which were five thousand Foot, and no less than three thousand Slingers and Archers; to These if we add the Glittering of their Armour, the Waving of the Streamers, the Sound of their Trumpets, Clarions, and Hautboys, all together made it look like a triumphant Procession, and struck the Enemy with Terror and Confusion.

Thus the *Syracusians* were driven back to their first Alarms and Perplexities; they saw no End or Respite of their Calamities; all their past Toils, Wounds and Losses are become unprofitable, they are still but where they were before. However *Nicias* did not long enjoy the Pleasure and Satisf-

(1) This *Ariston*, who had enter'd into the *Syracusan* Service, was the most experienced of all their Pilots. *Thucydides* gives us an Account of the Stratagem he made use of, which wants an Explanation in *Plutarch*. He tells us that *Ariston* advis'd the Captains of the Gallies to send, and have it order'd in the City, that the Market should be kept upon the Strand, to the end the Sailors might land and refresh themselves, and then immediately go and attack the *Athenians*, who would not expect them. This was accordingly put in Execution. All the Sailors got ashore, and fell to Dinner. The *Athenians* being hereby deceived, and concluding that they were returned back into the City, landed immediately, and fell on likewise; and whilst they were at it the Enemy re-imbarked, and attacked them.

faction he had conceived at the Arrival of this powerful Reinforcement, for in his first Conference with *Demosthenes*, he found him bent upon attacking the Enemy without Delay, He was for hazard-
ing All at once, for taking *Syracuse* by Assault, and returning then to *Athens*.

Nicias, amazed and frighten'd at this Precipitation and Temerity, did all he could to dissuade him from an Action so rash and desperate; he represented to him that nothing could annoy the Enemy so much as Delay; that they would soon be in want both of Money and Provisions, and that their Allies were ready to forsake them; that when once they came to be pinch'd with Want, they would sue to Him for Articles of Capitulation, as they had done before. For he had Those within the Town with whom he carry'd on a secret Correspondence, and who advised him not to be in haste, for that the *Syracusians* were weary of the War, and displeased with *Gylippus*, and that when their Necessities came to grow upon them, they would surrender at Discretion.

All This was represented by *Nicias*, not in plain open Terms, but in obscure Hints and Inneundoes, which made *Demosthenes* and the other Generals give it a wrong Turn, and think he spoke out of the Spirit of Fear and Cowardice. They said, *he was now playing over the old Game; that he was got to his old Shifts, Delays, and Precautions, which made him slip the Opportunity before, and suffer the Courage of his Troops to cool, when he should have led them against the Enemy.* Upon these Considerations the other Generals joined with *Demosthenes*, and *Nicias* Himself was at last forced to comply.

Hereupon *Demosthenes*, with a Party of Foot, by Night made an Assault upon *Epipolæ*; Some of the Enemy he slew ere they could take the Alarm; the rest defending themselves, he put to flight. Nor

was

was he content with this Advantage, but pushed on further, 'till he fell in among the *Bæotians*, who were the First that formed, and with loud Shouts, and level'd Launces put a Stop to their Career, and made a great Slaughter among them. The Horror and Consternation They were put into, spread through the rest of the Army. They who still kept their Ground, and maintain'd their Posts, were encounter'd by Those that fled, and They who were marching down from *Epipolæ* to sustain their Companions, being repulsed by the Run-a-ways fell foul on One Another, and took their Friends for their Enemies. This Confusion, in which they were thus disorderly jumbled together, the Impossibility of discerning Objects in the Horrors of a Night, which was not so obscure as that nothing was to be seen, nor so clear, that a Man might distinguish what he saw, but yielded a deceitful Glimmering, for the Moon was then ready to set, and even that obscure Light she gave being shadowed by the Interposition of so many Bodies and Weapons, that moved to and fro, so that they could see well enough to kill, but not to know one another, and that the Apprehension of an Enemy made even a Friend suspected and feared, all these Circumstances together extremely distressed the *Athenians*, and exposed them to the utmost Danger.

Besides all This, they had the Moon on their Backs, which casting their Shadows before them, both hid the Numbers of their Men, and the Glittering of their Armour; whereas the Reverberation of the Light of the Moon, from the Shields of the Enemy, made Them shew more numerous, and better appointed than indeed they were. In short, being pressed on every Side, when once they gave Ground, and turned their Backs, Many of them fell by the Hands of the Enemy, and as Many by their Own. Several flung themselves headlong

long down the Rocks, Others dispersed, and ran straggling up and down in the Fields, where they were picked up the next Morning by the Enemy's Horse, and put to the Sword. The *Athenians* lost two thousand of their Men in this Action; very few escaped, and returned safe with their Arms to their Companions.

Nicias, exceedingly afflicted at this Disaster, which he had foreseen, and which they might have prevented had his Advice been followed, loudly inve'y'd against the Rashness and Precipitation of *Demosthenes*; but He, after he had justified himself in the best manner he could, gave his Opinion, *That they should embark, and depart, for they were to expect no other Army, and it was impossible for them to beat the Enemy with That they had; that in case they did beat them, yet they should be under a Necessity of abandoning a Place, which it is well known, was always reckon'd unhealthy for an Army, and then especially in that Season of the Year, as they found to their cost, Pestilential.* For they were then in the Beginning of Autumn, and many of the Soldiers were sick, and all of them dispirited.

But *Nicias* could not bear any Motion for an Embarkment, not that he did not fear the *Syracusians*, but he was more afraid of the *Athenians*, their Tribunals and Accusations. He therefore maintain'd, *That they might remain in their present Camp without any Danger, and that at the worst it was better to fall by the Hands of their Enemies, than Those of their own Citizens.* In This he was of an Opinion quite different from That of *Leo of Byzantium*, who long after the Days of *Nicias*, declared to his Citizens, *I had rather fall by You than with You.* *Nicias* added, *That if they found themselves under a Necessity of changing their Camp, they might at their Leisure consider what other Situation would be most commodious for the Army.*

Nicias having declared his Sentiments in these terms, *Demosthenes*, who had no reason to value himself upon his former Advice, dared not to oppose it. The other Officers imagined that *Nicias* had some private Intelligence, which fed his Hopes, and made him so strenuously oppose a Retreat. But fresh Forces arriving soon after at *Syracuse*, and the Contagion spreading in the Camp of the *Athenians*, This made *Nicias* change his Opinion, and join with Those who were for a Retreat. Accordingly he commanded the Soldiers to be in a Readiness to embark.

Now when the proper Dispositions were made, and They just ready to go aboard, without being in the least observed or suspected by the Enemy, the Moon on a sudden in the dead of Night fell into an Eclipse, and was totally darkned, to the great Terror of *Nicias*, and the Rest, who out of Ignorance, or Superstition, were astonished at such Appearances, and dreaded the Effects. For as for the Eclipse of the Sun, which happens during the time of the Conjunction, they could in some measure account for That, for even the ordinary People knew that the Interposition of the Moon was the Occasion of it: but for the Moon, they knew not from the Opposition of what Body, nor how it could come to pass that being at the Full, she should all on a sudden be darkned, and assume different Colours in an Instant. This was a Point too knotty for them, they considered it as something supernatural, and the Forerunner of some grievous Calamities, with which the Gods threaten'd Mankind.

Anaxagoras was the First who with great Perspicuity, as well as Courage, shew'd how the Moon came to be illuminated and over-shadowed. (1) But He

(1) He was at that time so far from being an Author of any Antiquity, that he flourished in the Days of *Pericles*, and was Cotemporary

He was an Author of no Antiquity, nor were his Writings much known; for they were in the Hands only of a Few, who did not communicate them but to Persons in whom they could confide, and That with much Secrecy and Precaution. (1) For the People could not be brought to allow of Naturalists, or Such as were then called *Meteorolesci*, that is Those who make *Dissertations upon Meteors*, (2) as lessening the Divine Power, by deducing things from Natural senseless Causes, and a long Chain of Necessity, without any thing of Providence, or a free Agent.

Protagoras was banished *Athens* for such a System, and *Anaxagoras* thrown into Prison, out of which *Pericles* was forced to make use of all his Interest and Authority to release him; and even *Socrates*, tho' he meddled not at all in that sort of Learning, yet was he put to Death on account of his Philo-

porary with *Nicias*, for he died the first Year of the eighty-eighth *Olympiad*, and *Nicias* was killed the fourth Year of the ninety-first, fifteen Years after the Death of *Anaxagoras*, and this is the Reason that the Works of that Philosopher were not then much known.

(1) This appears from the Works of *Plato*, and did so with a Witness in the Death of *Socrates*, who had been accused of searching with a criminal Curiosity, and prying too narrowly into what was doing in the Heavens, and penetrating into the Abysses of the Earth. As *Socrates* Himself relates it in his *Apology*.

(2) This was what the People urged, to prevent their being cured of their antient Errors, and that they might have a pretence for persecuting Those, who were able to inform them better. But *Anax-*

agoras was so far from reducing the Divinity to Causes purely Natural, that He was the First of all the Heathen Philosophers, who taught that the Intelligence, the Understanding, that is the Spirit of God, disposed in a beautiful Order the several Parts of the Universe, which before lay in Confusion, and put them in Motion, and here he begins his Treatises of *Physicks*. It is true this Philosopher does not adhere to that grand Principle throughout, but drops this first Cause in the thread of his Discourse, and instead of it falls upon secondary Causes, substituting, as *Socrates* saith, the Air, *Vortexes*, Water, and other Things in its stead, altogether as absurd. But had it not been better, to have examined into this fine Principle, and endeavoured to draw the necessary Consequences from it, than to persecute the Author?

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sophy. At length his Disciple *Plato*, (1) whose Doctrine received its authority from his exemplary Life, open'd the Eyes of Mankind, and submitting natural Necessity to a divine Principle, he wiped off the Obloquy, and Reproach, which had been cast upon those Contemplations, and brought the Study of the Mathematicks into Reputation. Wherefore his Friend *Dion*, tho' an Eclipse of the Moon happened on a sudden just at the time when he was ready to sail from *Zacynthus* against *Dionysius*, yet was he in no wise dismay'd at it, but proceeding on his Voyage, landed in *Sicily*, and expelled the Tyrant.

But *Nicias* was so unfortunate in this Conjunction as to have no Divine with him of Experience and Ability. For *Stilbides* who attended him into *Sicily*, and had much weaned him from his Superstition, happened to die some time before. For an Eclipse of the Moon, as *Philochorus* has observed, could not be ominous to Those who were upon the Flight, but on the contrary favourable; for those Things which we do with Fear, stand in need of Darkness to conceal them, the Light in that Case being a most formidable Enemy. Besides in times of the greatest Ignorance it was not usual after an Eclipse of the Sun or Moon to observe those Luminaries, and abstain from Action for above three Days together, as *Autoclides* has observed in his Commentaries: Whereas *Nicias* was for

(1) *Plutarch* advances two Things here, which are very much to the Honour of *Plato*; the First is, that his Doctrine opened the Eyes of Mankind, and enlightened the World, which is very true, nothing is so luminous in all Paganism as the Philosophy of *Plato*; and the Second is, that his Doctrine was received upon the Authority of his exemplary Life, which served as a sort of Passport to his Doctrine,

for the Worth and Virtue of the Teacher dispose his Hearers to taste and embrace his Opinions. What must we say then of some Moderns, who do all they can to cry down the Philosophy of *Plato*, and represent him as a Person of monstrous Principles? But Accusations so senseless, and injurious to that great Man, are sufficiently refuted in another Place.

waiting

waiting (1) another Revolution of the Moon, 'till her Return to the same Point the Month following, as if he could not perceive her as clear and bright as ever the Moment she pass'd the Shadow occasion'd by the Opposition of the Earth. Wherefore in a superstitious manner abandoning all other Cares, he gave himself entirely up to Sacrifices, 'till the Enemy, making a right Use of this Inaction, came upon him unawares, with their Land Forces attack'd his Camp and Retrenchments, and ranged their Fleet in a Circle round the Harbour. Nor did the Men only from their Gallies insult him, but even the little Boys in Skiffs and Cock-boats row'd up to the Ships of the *Athenians*, challenging them to fight, and loading them with Injuries.

One of these Youths of noble Parentage called *Heraclides*, advancing too forwards, had like to have been taken by one of the *Athenian* Gallies that chased him. His Uncle *Polluchus* being in great pain for him, made out to his Assistance with ten Gallies, which were under his Command. The other Gallies, as much concerned for Him as He was for his Nephew, advanced to support him. This brought on a general Engagement, which was very sharp and obstinate; but in the End, the *Syracusians* had the Advantage, and the *Athenians* lost *Eurymedon*, and several other Commanders.

Hereupon the *Athenian* Soldiers had no patience to stay longer, but mutiny'd against their Officers, requiring them to depart by Land; for the *Syracusians* had immediately upon their Victory lock'd up the Entrance of the Harbour; but *Nicias* could not be brought to consent to This, for he thought it a

(1) *Thucydides* saith he was for waiting three times Nine days by the Appointment of his Divines. *Plutarch* has advanced in this Place, that *Nicias* had no able Divines attending him.

This proves the Truth of what

ful thing to leave so many Ships of Burthen, and near two hundred Gallies, as a Prey to the Enemy. Wherefore causing the Flower of his Infantry and the ablest Darters to embark, he man'd a hundred and ten Gallies, the rest wanting Oars, and posted the rest of his Army along the Sea-side, abandoning his Camp, and the Walls which extended as far as the Temple of *Hercules*. Wherefore the *Syracusians*, who had it not in their Power for some time before to perform their usual Sacrifices to that God, immediately sent thither their Priests, and Generals, to acquit themselves of that Duty.

When the Troops were embarked, the Divines assured the *Syracusians* from the Entrails of their Victims, that Renown and Victory attended them, provided they were not the Aggressors, but kept upon the Defensive; (1) for *Hercules* Himself, they said, accomplished his Labours, and remained victorious, by keeping upon the Defensive, and repelling the Force and Violence that was offered him. Thus encouraged, they took to their Oars, and stood towards the Enemy. This Engagement proved more obstinate and bloody than any of the Former, raising no less Concern and Passion in the two Armies who beheld it from the Shore, than in the Actors themselves; for they had a distinct View of the whole Fight, which being confined (1) to a

(1) True Courage and Fortitude, consist not in committing Violence, but in repelling it; for which Reason *Plutarch* hath observed in the Life of *Theseus*, that That Hero, who was for imitating *Hercules* in every thing, when he set out upon his Journey to *Athens*, resolved to attack nobody, but courageously to repel whatever Outrage or Violence should be offered him. But this Maxim is not to be observed by two Ar-

mies, when they are drawn up in Battel; They who are the first in attacking, may as well be said to repel Violence, as They who remain upon the Defensive.

(2) Thus the Word in the Text ἐν ὀλίγῳ ought to be interpreted, and not on a sudden, or, in a short time, as Some have translated it. For *Plutarch* takes it from *Thucydides*, συμπεσεσθῶν ὃ ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλῶν νεῶν, &c. So many Vessels engaging in so narrow a space, &c.

narrow Space, the Turns were many and unexpected. The *Athenians* suffer'd no less from their own Preparations than from the Enemy. For their whole Fleet was engaged at once, and fought without Intermission. Their Ships were unwieldly, and heavy laden, Those of the Enemy light, and nimble, and ready to support one Another, so that frequently One of the *Athenians* Gallies was attack'd by several of the *Syracusan* at the same time. They were over-charged with a Shower of Stones, that hit home from what Part soever they are discharged, which They answered only with Darts, and Arrows, the Flight of which was diverted by the working of the Ship, or their glancing upon the Waves, so that few of them could reach the Mark, at which they were levelled. Herein the Enemy follow'd the Advice of *Ariston* the *Corinthian*, who after he had given great Proofs of his Courage and Ability, fell honourably in the very Instant when Victory was declaring for the *Syracusians*.

After this great Defeat, and the Loss of so many *Athenians*, their Flight was cut off by Sea, and their Safety by Land extreme difficult. The Sense of This threw them into such a Despondency, that they never offered at repelling the Enemy when they approached to tow off their Gallies; they did not so much as demand their Dead, thinking their want of Burial a less Calamity, than the leaving their Sick and Wounded behind them. All This they had before their Eyes, but they found Themselves in a still more deplorable Condition. They saw They could not avoid the same Fate, and that it would come upon them after they had suffered many more Woes, and Woes more terrible.

As the *Athenians* were preparing to take the Benefit of the Night, and retire by Land, *Gylippus* observing the *Syracusians* taken up with Merriment, and Sacrifices, on account of the Victory,

the Festival of *Hercules*, which happened to be on that very day, he saw it was not in his Power either to persuade, or force them to take Arms, and fall upon the *Athenians* as they were drawing off. Whilst he was under this Perplexity, *Hermocrates* (1) contrived the following Stratagem. He sent some Persons in whom he could confide to *Nicias*, who told him *they came from those Friends of His, with whom he had held a secret Correspondence during the whole Course of the War, and that they were ordered to caution him against making any Motions that Night, because the Syracusians lay in Ambush for him, and had beset all the Ways.* *Nicias* being caught by this Stratagem, staid to the Purpose, as if he was afraid he should not fall into the Toils the Enemy were laying for him; for early the next Morning they secured all the difficult Passes, placed Troops upon the Rivers where they were fordable, broke down the Bridges, and posted Parties of Horse up and down the Country, so that it was impossible for the *Athenians* to stir without Fighting. They remained that Day and the Night following in their former Situation, and when they began to move, they filled the Air with loud Outcries and Lamentations, as if they were not quitting an Enemy's Country, but their native Habitations, so much were they afflicted not only on Account of the pressing Want to which they were reduced, but for the sake of their Friends and Relations, who through Sickness, or the Wounds they had receiv'd, were not able to follow them,

(1) He was sensible of what Consequence it would be to prevent *Nicias* from retiring by Land at the Head of such an Army as he still had under his Command; for it consisted, after all his Losses, of well nigh forty thousand Men. It such a Body should settle, and fortify themselves in any Corner of *Sicily*, what a Thorn might they not prove in the Side of the *Syracusians*? That would not be to finish, but continue the War. So that the Service *Hermocrates* did his Country on that Occasion was very considerable.

and

and so they were forced to be left behind. And yet even in this deplorable State, they deemed their present Sufferings much lighter than Those they expected, and which they knew to be unavoidable.

But of all the dismal and piteous Objects with which the Camp abounded, the most terrible, and That which drew the greatest Compassion, was *Nicias* Himself, labouring under his Distemper, undeservedly reduced to the last Extremities, and in want of things the most necessary at a time when his Age and Infirmities required them the most, and stood in greatest Need of them. And yet notwithstanding his great Weakness, he underwent with Courage and Patience what Many in a perfect State of Health would think insupportable; and it was very obvious that it was not for his own sake, or out of any Fondness to Life, that he bore up under such a Burden, but that for the sake of Those under his Command, he endeavoured to keep Hope alive. And whilst the Rest abandoned themselves up to Grief and Despair, if at any time he was forc'd to drop a Tear, it was manifest that it was not the present Danger that wrung it from him, but a Reflection on the Ignominy and Dishonour he lay under in an Expedition where his first Prosperity and Success had promised him so much Renown and Glory.

But if the Sight of his present Calamities moved Compassion, that Compassion was infinitely augmented when they call'd to Mind his many Speeches and Remonstrances at *Athens*, to dissuade the *Athenians* from that Undertaking. This Consideration convinced them still more that he was a guiltless Sufferer. This led them to a distrust in Providence, when they beheld a Person remarkable for his Piety and Devotion, and who had never been wanting in any thing where the Honour of the Gods was concerned, when they beheld such a one as se-

verely handled by Fortune as the most profligate Wretch in the Army.

Nicias however endeavoured all the while, by his Voice, his Countenance, and Behaviour, to make it appear to the whole World, that he was above the reach of all his Misfortunes. During a March of eight Days together, tho' he was harrassed, charged, and wounded by the Enemy, yet he preserved the Body under his Command entire; 'till *Demosthenes*, who follow'd in the Rear, was taken Prisoner with all his Party. They were surrounded by the Enemy in a small Village called *Polyzelia*, where he made his Defence for some time with great Courage and Resolution, but when he found it to no Purpose, he stabbed himself with his own Sword, but the Wound not proving Mortal, he was prevented from doing any farther Mischief by the Enemy, who forced in upon him, and seized him.

Some of the *Syracusan* Cavalry came up, and acquainted *Nicias* with this terrible Disaster. He would not believe it at first, but desired leave to send some of his own Horse for a more perfect Information; when they were return'd, and he was convinc'd of the Truth, then he sent to demand a Truce of *Gylippus*, and propos'd, that in case the *Athenians* might be suffer'd to depart in Safety out of *Sicily*, he would deliver up Hostages for paying to the *Syracusians* all the Charges they had been at during the War. The *Syracusians* rejected the Proposition with great Passion and Insolence, accompanied their Refusal with Scoffs and Menaces, and renew'd the Charge.

Tho' *Nicias* was destitute of all Conveniencies and Necessaries, and was constantly exposed to the Enemy's Weapons, yet he made good his Retreat all that Night, and the next Day arrived at the River *Asinarus*. There the *Syracusians* coming up to him,

him, forced many of the *Athenians* headlong into the Stream, whither Others ready to die with Thirst had impatiently flung Themselves before, and were inhumanely massacred whilst they were drinking. The *Syracusians* continued the Slaughter, 'till *Nicias* throwing Himself at the Knees of *Gylippus* said, *In the midst of Victory, O Gylippus, suffer yourself to be touch'd with Pity, not of Me, whom an Excess of Misery has made famous, but of these unhappy Athenians. Consider that Fortune is never so changeable as in War, and do not forget how the Athenians, whenever they got the better of the Lacedæmonians, always used their Victories with Moderation and Generosity.*

Gylippus was struck at the Sight of *Nicias*, and at what he had spoken, and felt some Sentiments of Compassion. He remember'd that *Nicias* had done the *Lacedæmonians* many good Offices in the late Treaty; besides, he thought nothing could contribute more to his Glory, than to have two of the Enemy's Generals his Prisoners. Wherefore he raised up *Nicias*, comforted him, and gave Orders to spare the *Athenians* that were remaining; but the Word of Command being communicated slowly, the Slain were much more in Number than the Prisoners, tho' the Soldiers had secreted several unknown to their Officers.

After they had brought all the Prisoners together, they adorn'd the tallest and most beautiful Trees on the Banks of the River with the Arms of the Captives, as so many Trophies of their Victory. Then crowning Themselves with Garlands of Flowers, dressing their own Horses in their finest Furniture, and cropping Those of the Enemy, they return'd to the City, where they made a triumphant Entry, having put a glorious End to a War, the most desperate of any that had ever been carried on by *Greeks* against *Greeks*, and obtained by their
Valour

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Valour and Fortitude a most signal and compleat Victory.

As soon as they had made their Entry, a General Assembly was called of all the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates, in which *Eurycles* the Orator proposed the following Decree: *That the Day on which Nicias was taken should be observ'd as a solemn Festival, at which they should rest from all manner of Work, and offer up Sacrifices, and that the Feast should be called Afinaria, from the Name of the River where he surrendered.* This was the twenty sixth Day of the Month *Carneus*, called by the *Athenians*, *Metagitnion*. *That the Servants of the Athenians, and all their Allies, be sold at publick Auction: That the Athenians Themselves, and as many Sicilians as embraced their Party, be sent Prisoners to the Quarries, All except the two Generals, who are immediately to be put to Death.*

When this Decree was passing, *Hermocrates* stood up, and represented *That a Victory well used was more glorious than Victory it self*; but these Words were receiv'd with a general Uproar in the Assembly; and when *Gylippus* required the two Generals to be deliver'd up to Him, to be carried by Him to *Sparta*, insisting that they were His Prisoners, the *Syracusians*, puffed up with their good Fortune, used him insolently, and gave him very hard Words. They had before This been disgusted at him for his Haughty Mein, and *Laconick* Austerity. *Timeus* saith they accused him of Avarice and Corruption, which Vices he inherited from his Father *Cleandrides*, who had been banished upon a Conviction of Bribery; and this very Man (1) having embezell'd Thirty Talents of the Thousand, which *Lysander* had sent by him to *Sparta*, and hid them under the

(1) *Gylippus* did not fall under the *Lacedemonians* would never this Disgrace 'till after his Exploits in have trusted him with the Com-
sily, for if it had happened before, mand of their Army.

Tyles of his House, was forced to run his Country, as we have more fully related in the Life of *Lyfander*. *Timæus* does not say, that *Demosthenes* and *Nicias* (1) were stoned to Death, as *Thucydides* and *Philiſtus* have written, but that whilst the Assembly was sitting, *Hermocrates* sent to inform them of what was passing by One of his Confidants, who was admitted to them by the Guards, and that upon his Information they slew Themselves. Their Corps were thrown out, and lay a long time at the Prison Door, to be viewed by Such as could be pleased with such a Sight. I have been told, that even at this Day is shewn in a Temple of *Syracuse* a Shield, which they say was That of *Nicias*, curiously wrought, and cover'd with a Gold and Purple Tissue.

Of the other *Athenian* Prisoners (2) the greatest Part perished in the Quarries, by Diseases owing to the unwholsom Air, and ill Diet, for they were allowed but two Pints of Barley a day, and one of Water. Many of Those, who had been secreted by the Soldiers, or had escaped under the Character of Servants, were sold for Slaves, having the Figure of a Horse imprinted on their Foreheads. These Last, who, besides the Miseries of Bondage, had suffer'd that Brand, gained much by their Modesty, Patience and Forbearance, so that they were either soon restored to their Liberty, or if they continued with their Masters, they treated them with all possible Tenderness and Respect.

(1) Neither doth *Thucydides* say they were stoned to Death, he saith the *Syracusians* cut their Throats
αἰτίσθαι.

(2) They were heaped One upon Another in strait Places, where they lay exposed to the Air for eight Months together, burnt up at first by the Heat, and afterwards

catching cold upon it during the cold Nights in Autumn, poison'd by the Stench of their own Excrement, or of the Corps of Those among them who died of their Wounds, or of Sickness, and perishing through Hunger, and Thirst.

Several

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Several amongst them were saved for the sake of *Euripides*; for of all the In-land Grecians, his Muse was of highest Esteem in *Sicily*. And when any Travellers arrived, that could present them with a Copy of his Verses, they got them by Heart, and repeated them to One Another. It is said that Many of Those who were preserved, after they got home, went and made their Acknowledgments to *Euripides*, Some of them telling him that they had been released out of Slavery for having taught their Masters such Passages as they could remember out of His Writings; Others, That when they were wandering up and down the Fields after the Fight, they were relieved with Meat and Drink for repeating some of His Verses. Nor is This to be wonder'd at, for it is reported that a Ship belonging to the Town of *Caunus*, being chased by Pyrates, and flying into a Port of *Sicily*, the *Sicilians* refused to give them Harbour at first, and would have forced them out to Sea, 'till one of them asked Those aboard if they could repeat any of the Verses of *Euripides*, and when they reply'd, that they could repeat a great many, they then received them with all Kindness and Humanity.

It is said that the *Athenians* would not at first give any Credit to the Report of this Overthrow, and chiefly for the sake of the Reporter. For an unknown Person landing at *Pireus*, and stopping at a Barber's Shop, began to discourse of the Affairs in *Sicily*, as if the *Athenians* had already been informed of what had lately passed in that Island. The Barber hearing it, without staying 'till the Stranger had related it to Others, ran full drive into the City, where meeting with the *Archons*, he told them publickly, without mincing the Matter, the News, just as he had heard it. The whole City was soon seized with great Trouble and Confusion. The *Archons* called an Assembly of the People, and pro-

produced the Barber. They immediately ask'd him who was his Author; and when he could neither name his Author, nor give them any satisfactory Account of the Matter, he was taken for (1) a Spreader of false News, and One who sought to inflame the Minds of the People. Upon This (2) they fasten'd him to the Wheel, where he bore the Torture for a good while, 'till at length some credible Persons arrived, who gave them a clear and distinct Account of the whole Disaster. So hard were the *Athenians* to be brought to believe, that *Nicias* was fallen into those Calamities, which he had so often foretold them.

(1) So the Word *λογοποις* signifies, One who spreads false News without any other design than to surprize People, and amuse them with his Lies. There is a very fine Chapter in *Theophrastus* upon this Vice, *περί Λογοποιίας*. And We learn from *Demosthenes*, and *St. Luke*, that the *Athenians* were so greedy after News, that they spent whole Days in the publick Places to enquire of all Comers and Goers what News was stirring. So that it is not to be doubted but *Athens* abounded with Persons of that Stamp, who made it their Business to invent News, to tickle the Ears of the Inquisitive, and gratify their Curiosity with their Forgeries.

(2) The learned *Casaubon* would infer from this Passage that the *Athenians* had established by Law a particular Punishment for the Spreaders of false News, but We do not find the least Footstep of This in all Antiquity. Nor is it likely that the *Athenians*, so inquisitive as they were, would bauk their Curiosity with so cruel a Precaution, which would have de-

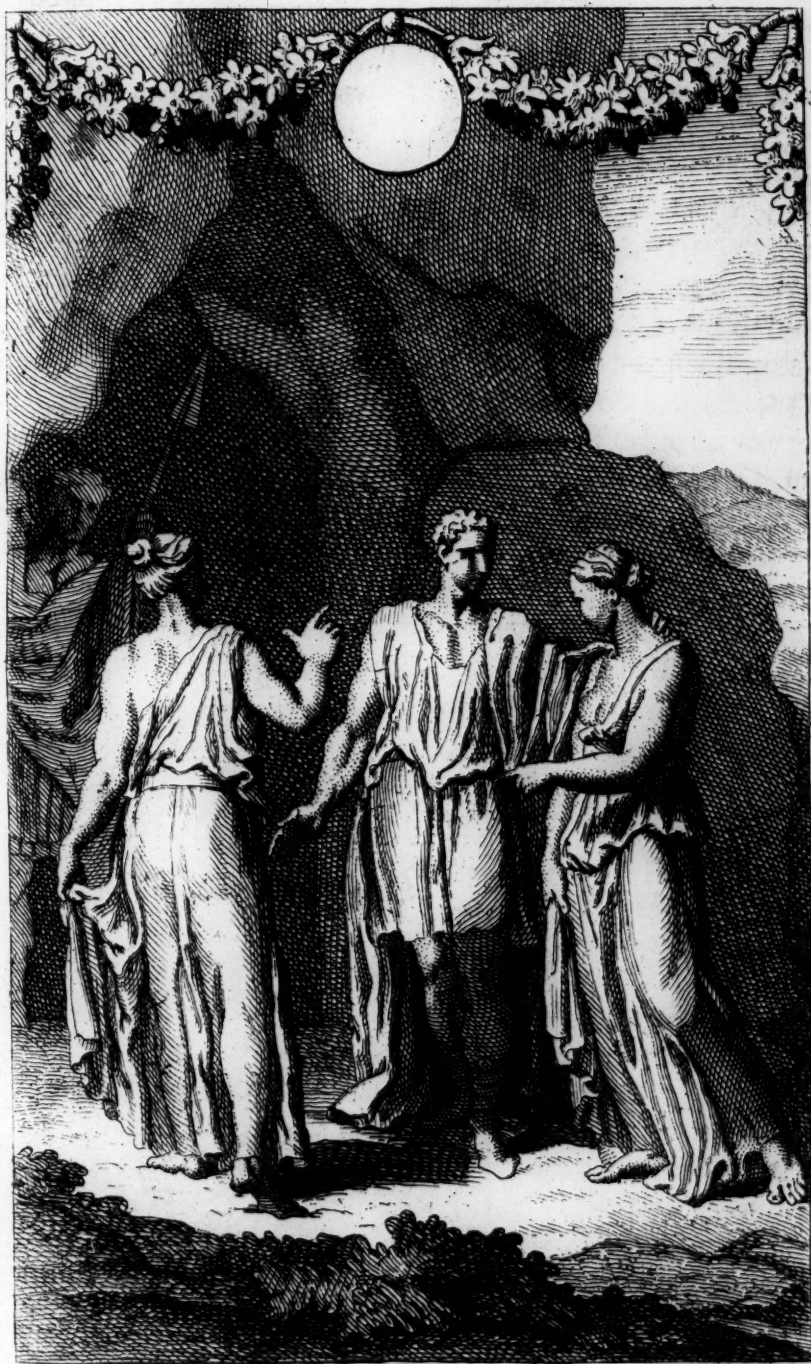
terred People not only from spreading false News, but reporting That which was true, for fear of being exposed to that Punishment before it could come confirmed. And That which is a stronger Argument, and puts it out of all Dispute, is that *Theophrastus* in the Chapter before mentioned saith, *I wonder what those Forgers of false News propose to themselves, for they are not only Lyars, but their Lies are unprofitable to them.* Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ψεύδονται ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλυσιτελῶς ἀπαλλάττῃσι. If the Law had appointed any Punishment for it, a Writer so exact and circumstantial cou'd not fail taking Notice of it, but to ἀλυσίτελῶς he would have added καὶ κινδυνώδῶς, and with much Danger. This Passage in *Plutarch*, which is the only one for the Purpose, is not of Authority enough to support what *Casaubon* has advanced; for this Proceeding of the *Athenians* against the poor Barber, was founded upon the present Conjuncture, and the Importance of his News, which could not but fling them into the utmost Desolation.

T H E



THE
L I F E
O F
MARCUS CRASSUS.

MARCUS CRASSUS, whose Father had born the Office of a Censor, and received the Honour of a Triumph, was Educated in a little House together with his two Brothers, who both married in their Parents Life-time, and they kept but one Table amongst them All, which (perhaps) was not the least Reason of this Man's Temperance and Moderation in Diet; but one of his Brothers dying, he married his Widow, by whom he had his Children; neither was he, as to this, less continent than any of the *Romans*, though when he was grown up, he was suspected to have been familiar with one of the Vestal Virgins, named *Licina*, who was nevertheless acquitted, one *Plotinus* managing the Evidence against



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against her. Now this *Licinia* (1) stood possess'd of a fair Country Seat, which *Crassus* desiring to purchase at under-rate, he was always lying at her, and attending her; and This gave occasion to the Scandal: But He likewise was acquitted, his Avarice in some measure clearing him of Incest; but however he never left the Lady 'till he had got her Estate. People were wont to say, That the many Virtues of *Crassus* were darkned by this one Vice of Avarice; and indeed he seemed to have no other but That; at least his Avarice being the most predominant, obscured all the rest, to which he was inclined: and the Arguments they alledged, were the Vastness of his Estate, and the Manner of raising it; for whereas he was not worth above three hundred Talents when first he made his Appearance in the World, yet he scrap'd so much together whilst he was in the Administration of Affairs, that after he had Sacrific'd the Tenths of all he had to *Hercules*, and feasted the People, and given to every Citizen Corn enough to serve him Three Months, upon casting up of his Accounts, before he went upon his *Parthian* Expedition, he found them amount to seventy thousand Talents, most of which, if we may scandal him with a Truth, he got by Fire and Rapine, making his Advantages of the Publick Calamities; for when *Sylla* seized the City, and exposed to Sale the Goods of Those he had caused to be slain, accounting them Booty and Spoils, and calling them so too, and being willing to make as many of the most substantial Citizens as he could, Partakers in the Crime, *Crassus* never was the Man that refused to accept, or give Money for them. Moreover, observing how extreamly subject the City was to fire, and falling

(1) For the Vestals did not give up their Estates. and renounce their Title to all worldly Goods, like our modern Nuns; the Reason of which was because They might quit their Habit when they pleased, and marry if they thought fitting.

down of Houses, by reason of their Height, and standing (1) so near together; he bought Slaves that were Builders and Architects, and when he had got to the Number of five hundred, he bought Houses whilst they were on Fire, and Those in the Nighbourhood, which, by reason of the present Danger and Uncertainty, the old Proprietors were willing to part with for little or nothing: so that the greatest part of *Rome*, at one time or other, came into his Hands. Yet for all he had so many Workmen, he never built any thing but his own House; *because*, said he, *They who are addicted to Building will undo themselves soon enough without the Help of other Enemies*; but hir'd his Servants out to Citizens that had a mind to build, and sold 'em as much Ground as they had need of; but although he had many Silver Mines; and rich Land, and Labourers to work in it, yet all This was nothing in comparison of his Servants. So many, and so excellent Lecturers, Amanuenses, Bankers, Stewards and Butlers, and he always standing over them to inspect and teach them himself; accounting it the Duty of a Master to examine, and instruct his Servants, (2) who are the living Organs of Oeconomy; and herein he was in the right (if he spoke as he meant) that the Servants ought to look after all other things, and the Master after Them: For Oeconomy, which in things inanimate is no better than lucrative Traffick, (3) in Men becomes Policy; but surely

(1) The Streets were exceeding narrow and crooked, and built chiefly with Timber, after the Gauls had burnt the City.

(2) *Aristotle* has rightly observ'd in his Treatise upon Oeconomy, that of all our Possessions the First and most necessary is That which is best in itself, and the most ca-

pable of Conduct; which consequently are the Slaves, who are rational Creatures. Wherefore *Craffus* with good Reason called them the Living Organs of Oeconomy.

(3) This is very certain. He that knows how to govern Slaves, may likewise be capable of governing

surely in This he was mistaken when he said, No Man was to be accounted rich, that could not maintain an Army at his own Cost and Charges; (1) for War, as *Archidamas* well observ'd, has no certain Allowance, the Charge of which is indefinite; and he differ'd much in his Opinion from *C. Marius*; for He, when he had distributed fourteen Acres of Land to each Soldier, and understood that Some desir'd more; *God forbid* (says he) *that any Roman should think That too little, which is enough to keep him alive and lusty*. But however *Crassus* was very hospitable to Strangers, for he kept open House, and to his Friends he would lend Money Interest-free; but he call'd it in precisely at the time; so that his Kindness was sometimes worse than the paying the Interest would have been. His Entertainments were frank and courteous, the Neatness and Contrivance of them looking better than if they had been more magnificent. As for Learning, he chiefly minded Rhetorick, and such Studies as might accomplish him best for publick Employments; for altho' he was naturally as good a Spokesman as almost any of them, yet in his Pains and Industry he surpassed them All; for (2)

there

verning other Men; which He whose Oeconomy extends only to Things inanimate, purely for the Sake of Profit, can never pretend to, so that the First only can bear a Relation to Politicks. It may be said farther, that Oeconomy is not only a Branch of Politicks, but is even the Foundation of it; for Oeconomy relates to the Government of a House or Family, and Policy to That of Cities and Kingdoms, which are composed of many Houses or Families.

(1) We may apply to this Subject the following famous Apo-

logue, *The Moon one day desired her Mother to make her a Gown that would exactly fit her; to whom the Mother replied, That cannot be; Thou art never a whole day together in the same Shape, but art continually increasing or diminishing. so that by that time the Gown can be made it will be of no manner of use to thee.*

(2) *Plutarch* does not say that *Crassus* never pleaded in any Cause tho' never so trifling and inconsiderable, without preparing himself for it, he saith something more; he means that no Cause was brought on,

The L I F E of

was no Tryal, how mean and contemptible soever, to which he came unprepar'd; nay, several times he went through with a Cause, when *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*, and *Tully* Himself refus'd to stand up; upon which account particularly he got the Love of the People, who look'd upon him as a necessary Man, and one ready to do a good turn: Besides, they were pleas'd with his courteous and obliging Behaviour; for he never met any Citizen, how mean and low soever, but he return'd him his Salute by Name. He was look'd upon as a Man well read in History, and pretty well seen in *Aristotle's* Philosophy, which one *Alexander* read to him, whose Commerce with *Crassus* was a sufficient Argument of his good nature and disinterested Spirit: For it is hard to say whether he was poorer when he entred into his Service, or when he left it, after having liv'd a long time in great Familiarity with him. He was the only Friend *Crassus* took with him into the Country, on which Occasion he would lend him a Cloak for the Journey, but demand it again when he return'd to *Rome*. (1) O the Patience of this *Alexander*! which was the more extraordinary (2) since the Philosophy He professed did not look upon Poverty as a thing indifferent. But of This hereafter. — When *Cinna* and *Marius* had got the Power in their Hands, 'twas soon perceiv'd that they came not for any Good they intended to

on, tho' never so insignificant, which *Crassus* had not studied; tho' he was not, as we say, retain'd in it. And for this Reason he adds, that oftentimes when *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, and even *Cicero* Himself refused to stand up and speak to some certain Point, because they had not prepared themselves for it, *Crassus* rose and spoke to it.

(1) This is a very reasonable Exclamation. For it must be no easy Matter to *Alexander* to bear

with the sordid Avarice of such a Gripe, who would not spare him so much as an old Cloak, but forced him to return it. Such a Behaviour would be enough to put the most disinterested Man in the World out of all Patience.

(2) For *Aristotle's* Philosophy, as well as That of *Plato*, consider'd Wealth as a desirable Blessing, and looked on Poverty as an Obstacle to the Exercise of Virtue.

their

their Country, but with a Design to ruin and extirpate the Nobility; for they slew as many as they could lay their hands on, amongst whom was *Crassus* his Father and Brother; as for Himself, being very young, for the present he escap'd the Danger; but understanding that he was every way beset, and hunted after by the Tyrants, taking with him three Friends and ten Servants, with all possible speed he fled into *Spain*, where he had formerly contracted a great Acquaintance, while his Father was Prætor of that Country; but finding all People in a Consternation, and dreading the Cruelty of *Marius*, as if he was already at their Doors, he durst not discover himself to any body, but lay hid in a spacious Cave, near the Sea-shoar, belonging to *Vibius Pasicianus*, to whom he sent one of his Servants to sound him; for among his other Necessities he began to be in want of Provisions. *Vibius* was well pleas'd at his Escape, and enquiring of the Servant the Place of his Abode, and the Number of his Companions, he went not to him Himself for fear of Suspicion, but commanded his Bailiff to provide every day a good Meal's Meat, and carry it and leave it upon such a Stone, and so return without taking any further notice, or being inquisitive, promising him his Liberty if he did as he commanded, and threatening to kill him if he did otherwise. The Cave is not far from the Sea, made by the closing together of some Cliffs, through the Chinks of which enters a refreshing and delicate Gale: When you are entred, you find a wonderful high Roof, and a great many very large Rooms one within another; neither is it void of Water or Light, for a very pleasant and wholesome Spring runs thro' the Cliffs, and the natural Chinks let in the Light all day long; and by reason of the Thickness of the Rock, the Air within is pure and clear, That which is foggy and unhealthful being carried away

with the Stream. While *Crassus* remained here, the Steward brought them what was necessary, but never saw them, nor knew any thing of the Matter, though They within expecting him at the customary times, watch'd his coming, and saw Him every day. Neither was their Entertainment such as just to keep them alive, but very plentiful and delicious, for *Pacianus* treated him with all imaginable Civility; and considering he was a young Gentleman, he resolv'd to gratify a little his youthful Inclinations; for to give just what is needful, seems rather to come from Necessity than from a hearty Friend. Taking with him therefore two handsome Damsels, he shew'd them the Place, and bid them go in boldly, assuring them they were in no Danger. When *Crassus* and his Friends saw them they concluded they were betray'd; wherefore demanding what they were, and what they would have, They, according as they were instructed, answer'd, *They came to wait upon their Master, who lay concealed in that Cave.* Then *Crassus* perceiving it to be a piece of Gallantry in *Vibius* in order to divert him, he took the Damsels to him, and kept them with him as long as he stay'd. They gave an account to *Vibius* from time to time of what they wanted, and how their Case stood. One of these Ladies, tho' she was then very old, (1) *Fenestella* says, he had seen, and often heard her tell the Story.

When *Crassus* had lain conceal'd there eight Months, as soon as he understood *Cinna* was dead, he made no scruple of appearing publickly. Immediately a great Number of People resorted to him, out of which he selected two thousand five hundred, with whom he visited many of the Cities as they

(1) *Fenestella* was an Historian who had wrote several Books of Annals, and might very well have seen one of those Slaves when she

was old, for he did not dye 'till the	Sixth Year of the Reign of <i>Tiberius</i> ,
when he was seventy Years old.	

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lay in his Way; and Many write, that he sacked the Town of (1) *Malaca*, though he ever obstinately deny'd it. Hence, getting together some Ships, he passed into *Africa*, and joined *Metellus Pius*, an eminent Person, that had rais'd a very considerable Army; but upon some difference between Him and *Metellus*, he stay'd not long there, but went over to *Sylla*, by whom he was very much esteemed. When *Sylla* passed over into *Italy*, he kept all the young Noblemen, that were with him, in Employment; Some he dispatch'd one way, and Some Another, and *Crassus* among the Rest was order'd to go and levy Troops in the Country of the *Marfians*. Being to pass through the Enemy's Quarters, he demanded a Guard of *Sylla*. *Sylla*, who did not expect to find him so over-cautious, reply'd in an angry Tone, (2) *The Guard I appoint thee is thy Father, thy Brother, thy Friends and Relations, all murder'd contrary to Law; which Cruelty and Injustice I am now revenging upon the inhuman Murderers.*

Crassus nettled at these Words, and enflamed with Resentment and Revenge, broke boldly through the Enemy, and ever after behaved himself as One zealously affected to *Sylla's* Interest in times of the greatest Difficulty and Danger. From hence, they say, first began the Emulation for Glory between Him and *Pompey*; for though *Pompey* was the younger Man, and had the disadvantage to be descended of a Father that was disesteemed by the Citizens, and hated as much as ever Man was;

(1) A City of *Bætica*, at present in the Kingdom of *Granada* upon the Sea-Coast at the Mouth of the River *Guadalquivir*. It is a noted Town for Trade, and particularly famous for its excellent Wines, retaining its primitive Name with very little Variation, being

by the Moderns called *Malaga*.

(2) There is a great deal of Energy in this Answer; implying that the Resentment of those Murders ought to be to *Crassus* instead of a Convoy; for what is there a Man so inhumanely injured ought not to undertake in Revenge?

yet in these Affairs he appeared so glorious and great, that *Sylla* used him with such particular Marks of Honour and Respect, as he seldom shew'd to Officers, who were his Seniors, and Persons of as good Quality as Himself; for he always stood up when He approached, uncover'd his Head, and saluted him with the Title of *Imperator*: This fir'd and stung *Crassus*, though indeed it was but *Pompey's* due to be preferred, for *Crassus* both wanted the Experience of *Pompey*; and his two innate Vices, sordid Avarice, and an insatiable Thirst after Gain, tarnish'd all the Lustre of his Actions. For when he had taken *Tuder*, a Town of the *Umbrians*, he was suspected to have converted all the Spoil to his own use, for which he was complained of to *Sylla*. But in the last and greatest Battel before *Rome* it self, where *Sylla* was worsted, some of his Battalions giving ground, and Others being quite broken; *Crassus*, who had the Command of the right Wing, got the Victory on his Side, and pursued the Enemy 'till it was Night, and then he sent to *Sylla* to acquaint him with his Success, and demand Provisions for his Soldiers. He lost his Credit most of all in the Proscriptions and Sequestrations, for either he made great Purchases for very little Money, or got considerable Estates convey'd over to him by way of Gifts and Presents: Nay, they say he sequestred One of the *Brescians* without *Sylla's* Order, purely for his own Profit, wherefore *Sylla* never after trusted him in any Publick Affairs. As no Man was more cunning than *Crassus* to ensnare others by Flattery, so no Man lay more open to it, or swallowed the Bait more greedily than himself; and This particularly was observed of him, that though he was the most covetous and scraping Man in the World, yet he ever hated and railed at such People. It troubled him to see *Pompey* so successful in all his Undertakings, so that he had the Honour

nour of a Triumph before he was capable to sit in the Senate, and the Surname of *Great* conferred on him by the People. For one day when some Body was saying, *Pompey the Great was coming*, he smiled and asked him, *Why, how bulky is he?* Despairing therefore to equal him by Feats of Arms, he betook himself to the long Robe, when by doing Kindnesses, pleading, lending Money, by standing by and voting for Those that stood for Offices, he arrived at as great Honour and Power, as *Pompey* had obtain'd from his many famous Expeditions: and This was peculiar to them, *Pompey's* Name and Interest in the City was greatest when he was absent, (1) but when present he was often less esteemed than *Crassus*, by reason of his Superciliousness and haughty way of living, shunning mean Company, and appearing rarely at the *Forum*, assisting only some Few, and that not readily, that his Interest might be the stronger when he came to use it for Himself; whereas *Crassus* being a Friend always at hand, ready and easy of Access, and very well experienced in these Affairs, with his Freedom and Courtesy got the better of *Pompey's* Formality. As for the Dignity of Person, Power of Persuasion, and Gracefulness of Countenance, they were equally excellent. However this Emulation never transported *Crassus* so far as to quarrel with *Pompey*, or so much as bear him any private Grudge, or Displeasure. It is true it vexed him to see *Pom-*

(1) There is nothing singular or extraordinary in this Distinction. Whilst a General is in the Field fighting victoriously in the Cause of his Country, his Name is cryed up, and he is in high Esteem with the People. But when his Army is disbanded, and He no better than a private Man, his past Services are forgot, and he is considered no otherwise than as he can be useful at present, so that he has the Mortification to see himself supplanted by his Inferiors, whose Talents are then of Use, and make them necessary. Examples of this Kind are to be met with in all Ages, and all Nations.

pey and *Cæsar* more respected than Himself, (1) yet this ambitious Jealousy was clear of all Unkindness and Malice; tho' *Cæsar*, when he was taken Captive by the *Corfairs* in *Asia*, cried out, O *Crassus*, *how wilt thou rejoice at my Captivity!* Notwithstanding This, they afterwards lived friendly together: Insomuch that when *Cæsar* was going Prætor into *Spain*, and wanted Money to satisfy his Creditors who fell upon him, and seized his Equipage, *Crassus* then stood by him, and was his Bail for eight hundred and thirty Talents. Now when the City of *Rome* came to divided into three Factions, of which *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, and *Crassus*, were the Leaders (for as for *Cato* his Fame was greater than his Power, being rather admired than followed) the sober and substantial part were for *Pompey*; the brisk and hot-headed followed *Cæsar's* Ambition; but *Crassus* trimmed between them, making his advantages of Both, and caused a great alteration in the Government, being neither a trusty Friend nor implacable Enemy, but easily angered or appeased according as he found it for his advantage, so that in a small Space of time he would defend, and accuse the same Laws and the same Men. But tho' he was so much favoured, he was more feared; so that *Sicinnius*, who was the greatest Teizer of the Magistrates and Ministers of his time, being ask'd how he came to let *Crassus* alone; *Oh*, says he, (2) *he carries Hay on his Horns*; alluding to the custom of tying Hay to the Horns of a Bull that used to Butt, that People might avoid him. Now the Insurrection of the *Gladitaors*, and the Desolation of *Italy*, which many call the War of *Spartacus*, began upon this

(1) This is something singular, and rarely to be met with; for nothing naturally breeds so much Hatred and Animosity as Envy and Jealousy.

(2) This Saying of *Sicinnius* be-

came afterwards a Proverb to denote a dangerous Person, and is very aptly made use of by *Horace Sat. iv. Lib. 1.* where speaking of Satyrick Poets, he saith,

Fœnum habet in cornu, longè fuga.
occasion;

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occasion; One *Lentulus Batiatus* trained up a great many *Gladiators* in *Capua* (many of which were *Gauls* and *Thracians*) who not for any fault by Them committed, but by the injustice of their Master, were often compelled to fight one with Another. Two hundred of These consulted how to escape, but their Plot being discovered, They who had the first Intimation of it, being seventy eight in number, seized in a Cook's Shop on his Chopping-knives and Spits, and made their Way through the City. In their passing on they met with several Waggon, that were carrying *Gladiators* Arms to another Town, which they seized upon and armed Themselves; and having secured an advantageous Post, made Choice of three of their Comrades to be their Leaders, of which *Spartacus* was Chief, a *Thracian* Shepherd, a Man not only of an high and valiant Spirit, but of more Understanding than could be expected from one of his Condition, and more civiliz'd than the People of that Country usually are. When he first came to be sold at *Rome*, they say a Snake twined about his Face as he lay asleep; and his Wife, who was of the same Country, a Prophetess by Profession, and particularly inspired by *Bacchus*, into whose Orgies she had been initiated, declared that This Sign portended that her Husband would one day arrive at a tremendous Power, (1) the Event of which would be glorious. This Woman was with him now, and attended him in his Flight. Their first Exploit was the Defeat of some Troops, that were sent out of *Capua* to quell them; and having seiz'd upon their Arms, which were fitter for their Purpose, they gladly threw away their Own as

(1) It was indeed very happy, and glorious, for he fell fighting valiantly as became a General. *Spartacus ipse in primo Agmine fortissime* dimicans, quasi Imperator, 'occisus est. Flor. iii. 20. A glorious End indeed for the Commander of a Parcel of Gladiators.

barbarous

barbarous and dishonourable. Afterwards *Clodius* the Prætor was sent against them with a Party of three thousand Men, who besieged them in a Mountain, which had but one narrow and difficult passage, which *Clodius* kept guarded, all the rest was encompassed with broken and slippery Precipices, but upon the top grew a great many wild Vines; they cut down as many of their Boughs as they had need of, and twisted them into Ladders, long enough to reach from thence to the Bottom, by which, without any danger, they got down All but One, who stayed behind only to throw them down their Arms, after which he saved Himself with the Rest. Now the *Romans* were ignorant of all This, wherefore the Slaves coming upon their backs, assaulted them at unawares, and took their Camp. Several Shepherds and Herdsmen that were feeding their Flocks and Herds in those Parts, All stout, nimble Fellows, went, and join'd them. Some of These they armed compleatly, Others they made use of as Scouts, and Party-men. The Second General sent against them, was *Publius Varinus*, whose Lieutenant call'd *Furius*, who attack'd them with two thousand Men, they fought and routed. Then *Cossinius*, Colleague to *Varinus*, was sent with considerable Forces; Him *Spartacus* missed but very little of taking, as he was Bathing at *Salenæ*, from whence with great difficulty he made his Escape, but *Spartacus* possessed himself of his Baggage, and following the chase with a great slaughter, stormed his Camp and took it, where *Cossinius* himself was slain. In short, having defeated the General himself in several Engagements, taking his own Horse and his Lictors Prisoners, he now was grown very great and formidable. However wisely considering, that he was not to expect to match the whole Force of the Empire, he marched his Army towards the
Alps,

Alps, intending when he had passed those Mountains, every Man should make the best of his way into his own Country, Some into *Gaul*, and the Rest into *Thrace*. But They being grown confident in their Numbers, and puffed up with Success, would give no Obedience to him, but with their Excursions ravaged all *Italy*, so that now the Senate was not only moved at the Indignity and Baseness, both of the Enemy, and of the Insurrection, but looking upon it as of dangerous Consequence, both the Consuls were employed, as in a War of the greatest Concern to the *Roman* Name and Dignity. *Gellius*, one of the Consuls, having surprized a Party of *Germans*, who thro' Contempt and Confidence were stragled from *Spartacus*, fell upon them on a sudden, and cut them all to pieces. But *Lentulus* with a mighty Army having overtaken *Spartacus*, and in a manner besieged him in his March, He sallied out upon him, and joining Battel, took his chief Officers Prisoners, and made himself Master of all his Baggage. As he was continuing his March towards the *Alps*, *Cassius* the Prætor of that part of *Gaul* that lies about the *Po*, met him with ten thousand Men, but being overcome in Battel, he had much ado to escape Himself, with the loss of a great many of his Men. When the Senate understood This, they were displeased at the Consuls, and ordering them to meddle no farther, they appointed *Crassus* General of the War. A great many of the Nobility went Volunteers under him, Some out of Friendship, and Others in Respect to his great Reputation. *Crassus* marched, and encamped in the *Picentine* Country, where he waited for *Spartacus*, who was to pass through those Parts. Whilst he lay there encamp'd, he detach'd *Mummius* his Lieutenant with two Legions to take a large Circuit, and get in the Enemy's Rear, but upon no Account

count to engage or skirmish with them. But *Mummius*, upon the first Occasion that flatter'd him with the least Hope of Success, gave *Spartacus* Battel, and was defeated. Many of his Men fell in the Action, and of Those that saved themselves most of them left their Arms behind them. *Crassus* rebuked *Mummius* severely, and giving the Soldiers new Arms, he made them find Sureties for their better keeping Them than they had done the Former; but for Five hundred that were the Beginners of the flight, he divided them into Fifties, who drew Lots, and One out of each Fifty, on whom the Lot fell, was put to Death. Thus he revived the antient Punishment of Decimation, which had been in disuse for a long time. This kind of Punishment is accompanied with the greatest Ignominy, for it is inflicted in the Presence of the whole Army, over which it spreads a Dread and Horrour.

When *Crassus* had thus chastis'd his Soldiers, he led them against the Enemy; but *Spartacus* thinking it safest to retreat, pass'd through *Lucania*, and so got to the Sea-Coast, where he met with some *Gilician* Pirates, and bargain'd with them to transport him into *Sicily*, where at the Head of two thousand Men, he could not fail of rekindling the War of the Slaves, (1) which was but lately extinguish'd, and seemed to want but little Fewel; but after the Pirates had struck a Bargain with him, and received his Earnest, they deceived him, and sailed away. He thereupon retired again from the Sea, and pitch'd his Camp in the Peninsula of *Rhegium*, which lies at the Foot of *Italy* over-against *Messina*. There *Crassus* came upon him, and finding that the very Nature of the Place prompted him to it, and supplied him with every thing ne-

(1) It was not above Eighteen, or Nineteen Years before, when *Manlius Aquilius* the Consul defeated the Slaves in *Sicily*, viz. ninety-nine Years before the Incarnation.

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cessary to his undertaking, he set upon building a Wall cross the *Isthmus*; by which he at the same time kept his Soldiers from Idleness, and his Foes from Forage; which great and difficult Undertaking he perfected in a small time, beyond all Expectation, making a Ditch from one Sea to the other, over a Neck of Land of three hundred Furlongs long, fifteen Foot broad, and as much in depth, and fenced it with a Wall exceeding strong, and high. *Spartacus* at first slighted this Work, and made himself merry upon it; but when Provisions began to fail, and he found he was walled in, and no more was to be had in the Peninsula, then taking the Opportunity of a snowy stormy Night, he filled up part of the Ditch (where the Wall was not quite finished) with Earth, and Boughs of Trees, and so passed over the third Part of his Army. *Crassus* was afraid lest he should march directly to *Rome*; but was soon eased of that Fear, when he saw many of his Men upon a Mutiny revolt from him, and encamp by themselves upon the *Lucanian Lake*. This Lake they say is very changeable, sometimes sweet, and sometimes so salt, that it cannot be drunk. *Crassus* falling upon These beat them from the Lake, but he could not pursue the Slaughter, because *Spartacus* coming in the Nick of Time repelled the Pursuers, and rallied the Runaways. *Crassus* had formerly advised the Senate to recall *Lucullus* out of *Thrace*, and *Pompey* from *Spain*, but now he began to repent of it, and did all he cou'd to finish the War, before They came, knowing that the Honour of the Action would redound to Him that came first to his Assistance. He resolved therefore to set upon those Troops that had revolted, and were encamped apart, under the Command of *C. Cannicius* and *Cartus*, accordingly he sent six thousand Men before to secure an Eminence that commanded the Enemy, and to do it as privately as possible. These Men did all they could to execute their

their Orders, covering their Arms to prevent Discovery; but they were unhappily discovered by two Women that were performing Sacrifices before the Camp for the Success of the Enemy. They had been hard put to it, if *Crassus* had not come up on a sudden with his Troops, and given the Enemy Battel, which proved the most obstinate and bloody of Any during the whole Course of that War. For twelve thousand three hundred of the Enemy were slain upon the Spot, of which Number there were only Two that were found wounded in the Back; all the rest died standing in their Ranks, and fighting bravely. After this Discomfiture *Spartacus* retir'd towards the Mountains of *Petilia*; but *Quintus*, one of *Crassus* his Commanders, and *Scrophia* the Quæstor, pursu'd, and overtook him; but when *Spartacus* rally'd and fac'd them, they basely betook themselves to flight, and had much ado to carry off their Quæstor, who was wounded. This Success ruin'd *Spartacus*, because it encourag'd the Fugitives, who now disdain'd any longer to make a flying Fight, not to obey their Officers; but as they were upon their March, they came to them with their Swords in their Hands, and compell'd them to march them back again through *Lucania*, and lead them against the *Romans*. This was what *Crassus* desired with great Impatience, for he was told that *Pompey* was at Hand; and indeed the Assemblies abounded with Speakers who openly declared, that the Honour of this War was reserved for Him, and that at his first Appearance He would force the Enemy to a Battel, and make an End of the whole Affair at one push. *Crassus* therefore desiring to fight, encamp'd very near the Enemy, and made Lines of Circumvallation, but the Slaves made a Sally, and attack'd the Pioneers. Now as fresh Supplies came in on either Side, and *Spartacus* seeing there was no avoiding it, set all his Army
in

in Array, and when his Horse was brought him, he drew out his Sword, and kill'd him, saying, *If I get the Day, I shall have a great many better Horses of the Enemies, and if I lose it, I shall have no need of This*; so making directly towards *Crassus*, through Showers of Darts, and Heaps of the Slain, he missed him, but slew two Centurions that fell upon him together. At last, when all Those that had attended him were fled, and He was left alone hem'd in by his Enemies, he stood his Ground for a long time with an invincible Courage, and fell in the End overcome by Numbers. But though *Crassus* made use of his Fortune, and not only did the Part of a General, but gallantly expos'd his Person, yet *Pompey* shar'd in the Honour of the Action, for he met with Many that fled, and slew them; so that he wrote to the Senate, *That Crassus indeed had vanquish'd the Fugitives in a pitch'd Battel, but that He had* (1) *pluck'd up the War by the Roots.* *Pompey* was honour'd with a magnificent Triumph for his Conquest over *Sextorius* and *Spain*; but *Crassus* did not so much as desire a Triumph, and it looked meanly in him to accept of an Ovation for a Servile War, and pass through the City on Foot. As to the Difference between a grand Triumph, and an Ovation, and the Distinction of the Terms, we have explained it at large in the Life of *Marcellus*.

(1) It seems strange that *Pompey*, who only fell upon the Fugitives, who had before been overthrown by *Crassus*, should arrogate to Himself the Honour of having given the finishing Stroke to that War. But This is the true Spirit of Ambition, which wrests every thing, even the Actions of Others, to its own Profit and Advantage. Of This we meet with many Examples. It

had been more honourable in *Pompey* to have allowed *Crassus* the Glory he deserved; and He had been served right if the Senate had returned Him an Answer in the Words of *Terence*.

Labore alieno magnam partam gloriam.

Verbis sapè in se transmovet; qui habet Salem, Quod in Te est.

Upon the Merit of these great Exploits *Pompey* was immediately named Consul, and tho' *Crassus* had no reason to doubt but he should be named with him, yet he did not scruple to request his Assistance, and desire his good Offices. *Pompey* very readily laid hold on the Opportunity, for he desired by all means to lay some Obligation upon *Crassus*, and zealously assisted him with all his Interest; Insomuch that he declared in open Assembly, *That he was not less obliged to them for his Colleague than for his own Advancement*. But being entred upon the Employment, this Amity continued not long; for differing almost in every thing, clashing and maligning one another, the time of their Consulship passed without any matter of Consequence, except that *Crassus* made a great Sacrifice to *Hercules*, and feasted the People at ten thousand Tables, and measured out to them Corn for three Months. Now as their Command was ready to expire, and they had summoned a general Assembly of the People, a Roman Knight, one *Ovatus Aurelius*, a private Country-Gentleman, mounted the *Rostrum*, and declared a Vision he had in his Sleep. *Jupiter*, says he, *appeared to me, and commanded me to tell you, That you should not suffer your Consuls to lay down their Charge before they were made Friends*. When he had thus spoken, the People cried out, *that they should be reconciled*. *Pompey* stood still and said nothing, but *Crassus* first offering him his Hand, *I cannot think*, says he, *my Country-men, that I do a mean thing, and unworthy my self, if I make the first Offers of Accommodation and Friendship with Pompey, whom You your selves styl'd The Great, before he was of Man's Estate, and decreed him a Triumph before he was qualified to sit in the Senate*. This is what was memorable in *Crassus's* Consulship; but as for his Censorship, That was altogether idle and unactive; for he neither made a Scrutiny of the Senate, nor took a Review of the Knights,

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Knights, nor an Account of the People, tho' he had for his Colleague *Lutatius Catulus*, the meekest of all the *Romans*, and the least given to Contention. It was indeed reported, that when *Crassus* intended a violent and unjust Action, which was the reducing *Ægypt* to be Tributary to *Rome*, *Catulus* strongly oppos'd it, which was the Source of such a Misunderstanding between them, that they laid down their Office by Consent. As for that great Conspiracy of *Catiline*, which was very near subverting the Government, *Crassus* was not without some suspicion of being concerned, and one of the Conspirators swore him in the Plot; (1) but nobody credited him; yet *Cicero* in one of his Oration, openly charges both *Crassus* and *Cæsar* with it, though that Speech was not published 'till they were Both dead; and in the Speech which he made upon his being elected Consul, he declares that *Crassus* came to him by Night (2) and brought a Letter concerning *Catiline*, confirming the Conspiracy. However it were, *Crassus* was ever

(1) *Salust* saith otherwise. He tells us that it seemed incredible to Some, but that Others were perswaded of the Truth of it, but that being of Opinion that it was more prudent to sooth a Man of his Power and Interest, than provoke him, they joined with Those to whom *Crassus* had lent Money, and all together cryed out that it was all a Lye, and that the Matter ought to be left to the Decision of the Senate. When the Report was made, the Senate declared, that the Deposition was false, and order'd the Informer to be taken into Custody. There were not wanting Some who were of Opinion that the Fellow had been suborned by *Cicero* Himself, and Sa-

lust adds, that he heard *Crassus* Himself say that *Cicero* was the Promoter of that Accusation.

(2) It is generally thought that this Passage has been falsified, we having not now that Passage in *Cicero* to justify it. For my Part I think it carries good and clear Sense along with it. *Crassus* goes to *Cicero*, and puts into his Hands a Letter concerning *Catiline*, and at the same time assures him, that the Plot was real; the only Difficulty ariseth from the Word *ἡμετέριον*, which is to be rendered no otherwise than by *de quâ quaritur*, of which Informations have been taken. *Cicero* justifies *Crassus* in this Place, tho' he accused him in Others.

after a bitter Enemy to *Cicero*, but was hinder'd by his Son from doing him any Injury; for young *Crassus* was mightily addicted to Learning and Eloquence, and a constant Follower of *Cicero*, inso-much that he put himself into Mourning when he was banished, and obliged all the young Gentlemen to do the same; and at last he wrought a Reconciliation between Him and his Father.

When *Cæsar* returned from his Province he put up for the Consulate, but finding that *Crassus* and *Pompey* were again at Variance, he was unwilling to disoblige One, by making application to the Other, and yet despaired of Success without the Help of One of them; he therefore made it his Business to reconcile them, making it appear, *That by destroying One the Other, they advanc'd the Cicero's, the Catuli, and the Cato's, who would really be of no Account, if They would join their Forces together; for an Union between them would enable them to manage the Affairs of the Empire as they pleas'd.* These Remonstrances of *Cæsar* reconciled them, and They Three set up an irresistible Power, which utterly subverted the Government, both as to Senate and People; not that He made Them Greater than they were before, but by their Means he made Himself Greatest of All; for by the Adherents of Both he was gloriously declar'd Consul, which Office when he administred with Credit, they decreed him the Command of the Army, and allotted him *Gaul* for his Province, and so placed him as in a Cittadel to curb the City, not doubting but they should divide the rest at Pleasure, when they had confirmed Him in the Command he desired. *Pompey* was moved hereto by an immoderate Desire of Ruling; but *Crassus* added to his old Disease of Covetousness, an Affectation of Trophies and Triumphs, to which he had been excited by the late glorious Exploits of *Cæsar*. For tho' he was sensible that he was far
superior

superior to all Others in Wealth and Authority, yet he could not bear to come short of those Two in a military Reputation, insomuch that this fatal Passion never left him 'till it had betray'd him to an ignominious Death, and involved his Country in unspeakable Calamities. When *Cæsar* came out of *Gaul* to *Luca*, a great many People went thither to meet him, and among the rest *Crassus* and *Pompey*. They had several Conferences together, where-in they consulted how to get the whole Management of Affairs into their own Hands; the only Way to which was for *Cæsar* to keep his Forces on Foot, and for *Pompey* and *Crassus* to get new Provinces, and consequently new Armies. This was no way to be effected but by having them chosen Consuls a second time; in which *Cæsar* undertook to assist them by writing to all the Friends he had in *Rome*, and sending a good Number of his Soldiers to vote for them.

This Agreement being ratified between them *Pompey* and *Crassus* returned to *Rome*, where their Design was presently suspected, and a Report spread, that this Interview was for no Good to the Common-wealth. Insomuch that *Marcellinus* and *Domitius* in plain Terms asked *Pompey* even in the Senate, if he intended to stand for the Consulship, to which he answered, *Perhaps he would, perhaps not*; and being urged again, he replied, *He would stand upon the Interest of the Honest Citizens, but not of the Dishonest*. These Answers appearing too haughty and arrogant, *Crassus* answered more civilly, *He would desire it, if it might be for the Advantage of the Publick, otherwise he would desist*. This Answer encouraged Others to put in their Claims, among Whom was *Domitius*; But the Moment *Crassus* and *Pompey* declar'd themselves Candidates, all the rest drop'd their Pretensions out of Fear and Respect, All except *Domitius*, Whom

Cato as his Friend and Relation exhorted, excited, and encouraged not to give over, representing to him, *That he was engaged in the Cause of Liberty. For Crassus and Pompey did not so much aim at the Consulate as at arbitrary Power, and were not now putting in for an Office, but for a Seizure of the Provinces and Armies.*

These were *Cato's* Words and Sentiments, with which he almost compelled *Domitius* to appear at the *Forum*, where he found Many ready to join him; for this new Step of *Crassus* and *Pompey* was a great Surprize to the People, who questioned with themselves, *What should make them desire the Consulship a second time, and why They Two together, and not with some Third Person? Have we not several Romans worthy to be Collegues with Crassus and Pompey, and to share this Honour with One of them? Pompey's Party* being apprehensive of This, committed all Undecences and Violences, and amongst other things, lay in wait for *Domitius*, as he was going to the *Forum* before Day-break with other Company that attended him out of Respect. They killed his Torch-bearer out-right, and wounded several Others, of which *Cato* was One, and having forced them back, and shut them up in a House, they kept them Prisoners 'till the Election was over. Not long after This they again confined *Domitius* to his House, drove *Cato* out of the *Forum*, killed Some that made Resistance, decreed *Cæsar* his Command for five Years longer, and appointed to Themselves the Governments of *Syria*, and both the *Spains*, which being decided by Lot, *Syria* fell to *Crassus*, and the *Spains* to *Pompey*.

This Decision was not disagreeable to the Multitude, for the People were desirous that *Pompey* should not go far from the City; and He being extremely fond of his Wife, was very glad to continue there; but *Crassus* was so transported with his Fortune, that 'twas manifest he never thought himself

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himself happy 'till now ; so that he had much ado to contain himself before Company and Strangers, but amongst his Confidants he blurted out many vain and childish things, which were unworthy of his Age, and contrary to his Nature, for he was not much given to boasting in all his life besides ; but then being strangely puffed up, and his Head heated, he would not limit his fortune with *Parthia* and *Syria*, but looking on the Actions of *Lucullus* against *Tigranes*, and the Exploits of *Pompey* against *Mithridates*, but Child's-play, he proposed to himself in his Hopes to pass beyond *Bactria* and *India*, and the utmost Ocean ; not that he was obliged by his Office to undertake a Foreign Expedition, but 'twas well known that *Crassus* affected it, and *Cæsar* wrote to him out of *Gaul*, commending his resolution, and inciting him to the War. When he was ready to set out, *Atteius* one of the Tribunes of the People, threatened to stop his Journey, and Many were ready to join with him, for they could by no means allow that any Man should for no manner of Reason enter into a War against a People, who had never done them any Harm, but were in Friendship and Alliance with them. *Crassus* being alarmed at this Menace, desired *Pompey* to stand by him and accompany him, for He had a great Authority amongst them ; and when Several were prepared, and resolved to obstruct his Passage, they no sooner beheld *Pompey* walking before him with a gay serene Countenance, but they were instantly appeased, and opened on each Side, and made way for him ; but *Atteius*, constant in his Resolution, met him boldly, and first by word of mouth conjured him not to proceed, and then commanded his Serjeant to seize and detain him ; but the other Tribunes not permitting it, they were forced to release him. Wherefore *Atteius* running before to the Gate, placed on the Ground

(1) a Pan full of live Coals, and as soon as *Crassus* was come, he threw Perfumes into it, and pouring Libations over Them, (2) invoked certain strange and horrible Deities, and cursed him with most dreadful Imprecations. (3) Now the *Romans* are possessed with a Belief that there is so much Virtue in these sacred and antient Rites, that no Man can escape the effects of them, and that the Conjuror himself seldom prospers; so that they are never made use of but upon important occasions. Wherefore *Atteius* was very much blamed, (4) for that being incensed against *Crassus* for the sake of his Country, he nevertheless pronounced his Maledictions against that very Country, and by those horrible Rites devoted it to the avenging Deities.

(1) This is the proper Signification of the Word *σχάψις*, which may likewise be rendered by what we call a *chafing-dish*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* ranks this Utensil among the Implements of Luxury, because they made the same use of it in His days as they do in Ours, to hinder the Meat from growing cold. This may lead us to a true Understanding of that Passage in *Seneca*, *Epist.* 85. *Circa Cœnationes ejus tumultus Coquorum est, ipsos cum Opsoniis focos transferentium, Hoc enim jam luxuria commenta est, ne quis intepescat Cibus, ne quid Palato jam calloso parum fervent, cœnam Culina prosequitur. At supper time the Cooks are all in a hurry, and serve Chafing-dishes up to the Table with their Provisions. This is an Invention of Luxury to prevent the Meat from cooling; and that every thing may be warm enough for their hardened Palates, the Kitchen is forced to follow the Supper. How angry is *Seneca* at this Custom! He does not say the Invention of*

h at Instrument itself was new, but the Use of it, and That indeed was new. At least I do not find any Mention of it before *Seneca's* time, either among the *Greeks*, or the *Romans*.

(2) It is not known what those Divinities were: without doubt they were the Infernal Deities, invoked under strange and horrible Appellations, for the Oddness of the Name added to the Extravagance of the Farce.

(3) Upon the Authority of this Opinion, which was so generally received, *Horace* saith in the fifth Ode of the fifth Book,

—*Dira Detestatio*

Nullâ expiatur Victimâ.

(4) And he very justly deserved it. For these Imprecations could not fall upon *Crassus* without falling likewise upon the State. An honest Man never is guilty of any Curses that may affect his Country. If ever such Imprecations are pardonable, it is when they extend only to that Person against Whom they are directed.

Crassus,

Crassus, without being in the least affected with those Imprecations of *Atteius*, proceeded to *Brun-dusium*, and though the Sea was very tempestuous, he had not patience to wait, but went on Board, and lost many of his Ships in his Passage, and with the remnant of his Forces marched a-foot through *Galatia*, where, meeting with King *Deiotarus*, who though very old, was building a New City; *Crassus* told him by way of Rallery, *Your Majesty begins to build at the twelfth Hour. Neither do you, says he, O General, undertake your Parthian Expedition very early in the Morning; for Crassus was then threescore years old, and seemed still older than he was. At his first coming, things went as he would have them, for he made a Bridge over the Euphrates without much Difficulty, passed with his Army in safety, and took in many Cities of Mesopotamia, which yielded themselves up voluntarily. One only, where a Tyrant call'd Apollonius had usurped the Authority, had the Courage to resist, and slew about a Hundred of his Soldiers. Wherefore drawing down all his Forces against it he took it by Storm, plunder'd it of its Riches, and sold all the Inhabitants. The Greeks call this City Zenodotia, and upon the taking of it Crassus permitted the Army to salute him Imperator; but it look'd mean and poor, as if he despair'd of any nobler Atchievement, when he was so exalted with such a Trifle. After This, he placed seven thousand Foot and a thousand Horse in Garrison in his new Conquests, and then returned to take up his Winter Quarters in Syria. There he was met by his Son, a young Gentleman of great Hopes, who had been honoured with several military Rewards conferred on him by Caesar, from whom he was sent with a thousand choice Horse out of Gaul to the Assistance of his Father. Here Crassus seemed to commit his first Error, unless you will allow the whole*

whole Expedition to be one; for whereas he ought to have gone forward and seiz'd *Babylon* and *Seleucia*, (1) Cities that were ever at Enmity with the *Parthians*, he gave the Enemy time to provide against him; besides he spent his time in *Syria* more like an Usurer than a General, for he took no account of the Arms, nor Discipline of his Soldiers, but was very exact in computing the Revenue of the Cities, and weighing the Treasure that was in the Temple of (2) *Hierapolis*. He sent to all the Towns and Communities a List containing the Number of Soldiers they were each of them to levy respectively, and when they were raised, he exacted Money from them, and discharged them, whereupon he lost his Credit, and made himself despicable.

The first Omen he met with of his future Misfortunes, was from this very Goddess of *Hierapolis*, whom Some call *Venus*, Others *Juno*, Others *Nature*, or the Cause that produces all things out of Moisture, and instructs us in all Good; for as they were coming out of the Temple, young *Crassus* stumbled, and his Father fell upon him. When he had drawn his Army out of their Winter Quarters, Ambassadors came to him from *Arfaces* King of *Parthia*, who in few Words delivered their Commission to him. They told him, *If the Army was sent against him by the People of Rome, he denounced a mortal War, and would give no Quarter; but if (as*

(1) And wou'd therefore in all Probability have open'd their Gates to Him, and have supplied him with whate'er he wanted. He might have made those Cities Places of Arms, and have drawn from them every thing necessary to push on his Conquests upon the common Enemy. Instead of This, by returning into *Syria*, he lost all those Advantages, and had his Work to begin a new.

(2) About twenty Miles from

Euphrates, there was a City called *Bambyce*. It was likewise named *Edeffa*, and *Hierapolis*, or the holy City, and by the *Syrians* *Magog*, where the Goddess called *Atargatis* was worshipped with great Devotion. *Lucian* mentions this Temple in his Treatise of the Goddesses of *Syria*, as the richest Spot in the Universe, for Offerings flow'd daily into it from every Corner.

he understood it was) Crassus, against the Consent of the Romans, had invaded his Country purely to satisfy his own insatiable Avarice, then their King would be more merciful, and taking pity upon Crassus his dotage, would send back those Soldiers whom he looked upon rather as besieged, than in a Garrison. Crassus told them with an arrogant Air, that he would return his Answer at Seleucia; whereat Vagises the Chief of them smiling, shew'd the Palm of his Hand, saying, *Hair will grow here*, Crassus, before Thou wilt see Seleucia; so they returned to their King (1) Hyrodes, and told him that he must prepare for War. Several of the Romans that were in Garrison in Mesopotamia, with great hazard made their escape, and told Crassus the danger was worth his Concern; for that They by experience knew the number of the Enemy, and their manner of fighting, when they assaulted their Towns. And as it is the Custom of People in a Fright to make the Objects seem greater then they really are, They added, that it was impossible to escape them by Flight, and as impossible to overtake them when they fled; that they had new strange sorts of Weapons as swift as sight, that pierced whatever they met with, before one could see who threw; that their Cataphracts, or Men armed at all points, were so provided that they would beat down every thing that opposed them, and give way to nothing. This Account very much cooled the Courage and Resolution of the Soldiers, for 'till then they thought there was no difference between the Parthians, and Armenians and Cappadocians, who tired Lucullus in following and pursuing of them, and were persuaded that the Diffi-

(1) Plutarch here calls the King of Parthia, Hyrodes, whom he had mentioned before under the Name of Arsaces. I am of Opinion that Arsaces was the Name of Arsaecides, and that Orodes, or Hyrodes, was the proper Name of this Prince. He was the Son of Phraates the second, and obtain'd the Crown by the Murder of his elder Brother Mithridates.

culty of the War consisted only in the tediousness of the March, and the trouble of chasing Those that durst not come to handy-blows, so that the danger of a Battel was beyond their Expectation; wherefore the Officers, among whom was *Cassius* the Questor, advised *Crassus* to proceed no further at present, but take new Measures upon the Whole: At the same time the Soothsayers told him in private, that the Omens were unlucky, that the Sacrifices were not acceptable, but portended dismal Consequences. This had no manner of weight with *Crassus*, who hearken'd to None but Those who exhorted him to proceed.

But That which confirm'd him the most, and fortified him in his Resolution, was the Arrival of *Artuafdes* King of *Armenia*, who came to his Aid with six thousand Horse, which were said to be only the King's Life-guard, for he promised him ten thousand Cuirassiers more, and thirty thousand Foot, all to be maintained at his own Charges. This Prince persuaded *Crassus* to invade *Parthia* by the way of *Armenia*, where he would not only supply his Army with Forage, but his Passage would be more secure, by reason of the Roughness of the Country, and a continued Chain of Mountains, which were almost impassible to Horse, in which the main Strength of the *Parthians* consisted. *Crassus* returned him but cold Thanks for his readiness to serve him, and the Splendour of his Assistance, and told him, *he was resolved to pass thro' Mesopotamia, where he had left a great many brave Roman Soldiers*; whereupon the *Armenian* took his Leave, and returned home.

As *Crassus* was passing his Troops over a Bridge, which he had built cross the *Euphrates*, near a Town called *Zeugma*, many strange and supernatural Thunders were heard, and the Lightning flash'd upon the Army, and during the Storm, a Hurri-

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cane broke down the Bridge, and carried part of it away: And two Thunderbolts fell upon the very place where the Army was going to encamp; and one of the General's Horses richly harnessed, ran away with the Groom upon his Back, leap'd into the River, and was seen no more. It is likewise said, that when they went to take up the great Standard, the Eagle turned its Head backward of its own Accord; and that after he had passed over his Army, as they were distributing the Provisions among the Soldiers, they first gave them Lentiles and Salt, which the *Romans* account ominous, and Tokens of Mourning, for which reason they are offered upon the Tombs of the Dead. Moreover, as *Crassus* was haranguing his Soldiers, he let fall a Word which struck a great Terror in the Army; for said he, *I will break down the Bridge, that none of you may return*; and when he perceiv'd the ill effect that inconsiderate Word had wrought among the Soldiers, instead of correcting it, or explaining what he meant by it to Those who were so much concerned at it, he wou'd not do it out of meer stubborness. In short, when the usual Sacrifice was performed for the purifying of the Army, the Priest presenting him with the Entrails, he let them slip out of his Hand; and when he saw the Standers-by concerned at it, he laugh'd and said, *See what it is to be an old Man, but I'll hold my Sword fast enough.*

At the same time he began his March along the *Euphrates* with seven Legions, little less than four thousand Horse, and as many light-arm'd Soldiers. He had not been long upon his March before his Scouts returned, declaring that not one Man appeared, but that they saw the footing of a great many Horses which seemed to retire and fly, as if they had been pursued; whereupon *Crassus* conceived great hopes, and the *Romans* began to despise the *Parthians*, as Men that would not face them, nor
stand

stand an Engagement; but *Cassius* and the rest advised him to refresh his Army in some of the Garrison Towns, and remain there 'till they could get certain Intelligence of the Enemy; at least to make towards *Seleucia*, and keep by the River, that so he might have the convenience of Ships to bring him Provisions, which might always accompany the Army, and the River would secure them from being environ'd, and if they should fight it might be upon equal terms. As *Crassus* was considering hereupon, there came to the Camp an Arabian Tribune, named *Ariamnes*, a cunning subtle Fellow, and one who was the chief Cause of all the Misfortune that befel them. Some of *Pompey's* old Soldiers knew him, for he had serv'd with them under Him, and had received some Kindnesses from him, and was therefore looked upon as a sure Friend to the Romans. But he was now suborn'd by the King's Officers, and sent to *Crassus* to entice him, if possible, from the River and Hills into the Plain, where he might be surrounded, for the *Parthians* desired any thing rather than be obliged to meet the Romans face to face. This Trickster coming into the Camp, began first by extolling *Pompey* as his Benefactor, for he had a Tongue well hung, and it was hard to determine whether he was more knavish, or eloquent. Then he seemed to admire the good Fortune of *Crassus*, who was at the Head of an Army so fine, and well-appointed. He wonder'd at him for spinning out the War, and wasting his time in Preparations, when his Feet were of more use to him than his Arms, against those Men who taking with them the most valuable of their Effects, and all Those for whom they had the greatest Tenderness and Affection, had designed long ago to fly for Refuge to the *Scythians* or *Hyrceanians*. But, continued he, supposing they were to fight, at least You ought to make what haste You can, before the King, recovered out of
his

his Fright, can draw his Forces together; for you see Surena and Syllaces who are sent to amuse You, and hinder your further Progress, but the King himself keeps at a Distance, and has not the Heart to appear. But This was all a Lie; for Hyrodes had divided his Army into two Parts, with one he in Person wasted Armenia, revenging himself upon Artuafdes, and sent Surena against the Romans, not out of Contempt as Some pretend, for there is no likelyhood that he should despise Crassus, one of the chiefest Men of Rome, to go and fight with Artuafdes, and invade Armenia; but for my part I believe he apprehended the Danger, and therefore he expected the Event, and was willing that Surena should first run the hazard of a Battel, and circumvent the Enemy. Nor was this Surena an ordinary Person, but for Wealth, Family, and Authority, the second Man in the Kingdom, and for Courage and Prowess he was the First; neither was he exceeded by any in Stature, and the Comeliness of his Person. Whenever he travelled, tho' alone, he had a thousand Camels to carry his Baggage, two hundred Chariots full of Concubines, a thousand Men compleatly armed for his Life-Guards, and a great many more light-arm'd; and for the Vassals and Slaves, that were in his Retinue, they amounted at least to ten thousand. Besides This he inherited from his Ancestors the Honour of setting the Crown upon the King's Head at his Coronation. It was Surena who recalled this very King Hyrodes from Exile, and restored him to the Throne. It was He who took the great City of Seleucia, where he was the First that scaled the Walls, and with his own Hands beat off all Those that oppos'd him. And though at that time he was not above thirty Years old, he was counted wise and discreet; wherein he had much the Advantage of Crassus, who was easy to be imposed upon, first through his childish Confidence, and after-

Afterwards because he was dastarded and cow'd by his Calamities. When *Ariamnes* had thus work'd upon him, he drew him from the Rivers into vast Plains, by a Way that at first seemed pleasant and easy, but afterwards very troublesome by reason of the Depth of the Sand, without Trees and Water, and of so prodigious an Extent, that the Eye could not reach to the Limits of it; so that they were not only spent with Thirst, and the Difficulty of the Passage; but thrown into the utmost Despair by an uncomfortable unbounded Prospect, where no Plant, Stream, Hillock, or green Herb was to be seen, and where they had nothing in View but Heaps of burning Sand, which like the foaming Waves of a tempestuous Sea, encompassed and swallowed up his Battalions. This was sufficient to make him suspect he was betrayed, of which there was no room left to doubt after the Arrival of Messengers from *Artuafdes*. That Prince informed *Crassus*, That he was engaged in a bloody War with *Hyrodes*, who had invaded his Country; so that now it was impossible for him to send him any Succours. Wherefore he advised *Crassus* to turn back, and draw towards *Armenia*, where with their joint Forces they might give *Hyrodes* Battel; but if he would not follow that Advice, he conjured him at least never to encamp in any plain open Country favourable to the Cavalry, but to keep close to the Mountains. *Crassus* out of Anger and Vanity disdain'd to return him an Answer, but told his Messengers, That at present he was not at leisure to mind the Armenians, but that in due time he would call upon them, and (1) punish *Artuafdes* for his Treachery. This Answer by no means pleased *Cassius*, however he forbore giving any more of his Advice to *Crassus*, who he saw could not re-

(1) He was offended at *Artuafdes* because he did not send him the Succours he had promised him, without considering the Necessity he was under, and what it was that hindered him from keeping his Word.

lish it, but taking the Traytor aside he vented his Spleen upon Him, and loaded him with Curses. *What evil Genius, O thou worst of Men,* said he, *brought thee to our Camp, and with what Charms and Potions hast thou bewitched Crassus, and perswaded him to fling his Army into these unbounded Desarts, into this Abyss of Sand, and to chuse a March fitter for a Captain of Arabian Robbers, than the General of a Roman Army?* The Barbarian being an artful Fellow, and One who could turn himself into all Shapes, answered *Cassius* with great Humility, and conjured him to have Patience yet a little longer. After This he passed up and down through the Soldiers Files, and under Pretence of cheering them, asked in a Scoff, *What, do you think you are marching through Campania, expecting every where to find Springs, and Shades, and Baths, and Inns of Entertainment? You must consider that you are now traversing the Confines of Arabia and Assyria.* Thus he managed them like Children, and before the Cheat was discovered, he rode away: not but that *Crassus* was privy to his going, for he had perswaded Him that it was for His Service, and that he would go and contrive how to disorder the Affairs of the Enemy. It was observed that *Crassus* came not abroad that Day in his purple Coat-Armour, such as the Roman Generals use to wear, but in a black Robe, and that as soon as he perceived it, he went and changed it. And the Standard-Bearers had much ado to take up their Eagles, which seemed to be fixed to the Ground, of which *Crassus* took no other Notice than to laugh at it, and hastening their March, he compelled his Infantry to keep pace with the Cavalry, 'till some few of the Scouts returned, and reported, that their Fellows were slain, and they hardly escaped, that the Enemy was at hand, and resolved to give them Battel. This Report brought a general Consternation upon

the whole Army, but no one was so sensibly affected with it as *Crassus* Himself. The Fright and Confusion he was in impaired his Reason, and in that Hurry of Thought he drew up his Army. At first he followed the Advice of *Cassius*, and opened the Ranks and Files as wide as possible, that they might take up as much Space as could be, to prevent their being surrounded, and distributed the Horse into the Wings; but afterwards changing his Mind, he drew up his Army in a Square, and made a Front every Way, each Front consisting of twelve Companies, to every one of which he allotted a Troop of Horse, that no part might be destitute of the Assistance of the Cavalry, but that the whole Body being equally covered might charge with the greater Confidence and Alacrity. *Cassius* commanded one of the Wings, young *Crassus* the other, and Himself was in the middle. Thus they marched on 'till they came to a little River named *Bolissus*, a very inconsiderable one in it self, but very grateful to the Soldiers, who had suffer'd so much by Drought and Heat in their March over a barren and sandy Desert. Most of the Commanders were of the Opinion that they ought to remain there that Night, and inform themselves as much as possible of the Number of the Enemies and their Order, and so march against them at break of Day; but *Crassus* was so exalted at the Eagerness of his Son, and the Horsemen that were with him, who desired and urged him to lead them on, and engage, that he commanded Those that had a Mind to it, to eat and drink as they stood in their Ranks; and before they had all well done, he led them on, not leisurely and by stops, as if he was going to Battel, but kept on his Pace as if he had been in haste, 'till they saw the Enemy, contrary to their Expectation, neither so many nor so magnificently armed as the *Romans* expected; for *Surena* had cunningly hid his

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main Force behind the first Ranks, and to prevent their being discovered by the Glittering of their Armour, he commanded them to cover it with their Coats, and Skins of Beasts.

When both Armies were near, and ready to engage, the General had no sooner given the Signal, but immediately all the Field rung with a hideous Noise, and terrible Clamour; for the *Parthians* do not excite their Men to Action with Cornets and Trumpets, but with a sort of hollow Instruments cover'd with Leather, and surrounded with Brass Bells, which being beaten incessantly, and make a dismal Noise, which seems compounded of the bellowing of wild Beasts, and violent Cracks of Thunder; for they wisely consider'd that of all the Senses, That of Hearing most effectually disturbs the Mind, agitates the Passions, and subverts the Understanding. When they had sufficiently terrified the *Romans* with that strange Noise, on a sudden throwing off the Covering of their Armour, they seemed all on Fire from the polish'd Brightness of their Casks and Cuirasses, which were made of *Margian* Steel, more sparkling than the Rays of the Sun, and from the Brass and Iron Trappings of their Horses. At their Head appeared *Surenæ*, who was Himself the tallest and comliest Man in the whole Army. The Sweetness of his Looks, and Effeminacy of his Habit, did not promise so much Manhood as he really was Master of; for his Face was painted, and his Hair parted, after the Fashion of the *Medes*, whereas the other *Parthians* look'd more terrible, and with their Hair shaggy, after the Manner of the *Scythians*. Their first Design was with their Launces to beat down and force back the first Ranks of the *Romans*; but when they perceived the Depth of their Battel, and that the Soldiers kept their Ground, they made a Retreat, and pretending to separate and break their Orders, they

encompass'd the *Romans* round, ere they were aware of it. Then *Craffus* commanded his Light-armed Soldiers to charge in, but they had not gone far, before they were received with such a Shower of Arrows, that they were glad to retire amongst the Heavy-armed, which was the first Occasion of their Disorder and Terror, when they perceived the Strength and Force of their Weapons, against which no Armour was of Proof, but they pierced through every thing that came in their Way. The *Parthians* divided themselves, and began to shoot from all Sides, without aiming at any particular Mark; for indeed the Order of the *Roman* Battel was so close, that they could not miss if they would, and the Wounds they gave were deep and terrible, not only on account of the Weight and Force of their Arrows, but from the Size and Flexibility of their Bows, which by their Pliantness almost join'd their two Ends together when they were bent, and by their Length gave such a Scope to the String, that the Arrow was drawn up to the Head, and discharged with such an impetuous Rapidity, that nothing could withstand it. Now were the *Romans* in a most desperate Situation, for if they kept their Ranks, they were wounded mortally, and if they quitted them, and charged the Enemy, tho' they could make no Impression upon Them, they were still equally Sufferers Themselves. For the *Parthians* would run from them, and at the same time let fly at them; for of all the People in the World, next to the *Scythians*, they are the most expert in that Art, which is wisely contriv'd; for in Flying they save their Lives, and in Fighting they prevent the Dishonour of a Flight. The *Romans* at first had some Comfort to think, that when they had spent all their Arrows, they would either give over, or come to Handy-strokes; but when they understood that there were several Camels

loaded

loaded with Arrows in the Reer, and that when the first Ranks had discharged Those they had, they wheeled off, and took more; then *Crassus*, seeing no End of his Miseries, was out of all Heart, and sent to his Son to endeavour at all Events to engage the Enemy before he was quite surrounded, for it was at Him one of the Wings of the *Parthians* chiefly aimed, and endeavour'd to take in the Reer; wherefore the young Man taking with him thirteen hundred Horse (a thousand of which he had from *Cesar*) five hundred Archers, and eight Companies of the best armed Soldiers that were next at hand, he wheeled about, with a Design to charge the *Parthians*. But They, whether it was that they feared to stand an Army in so good Array, (as some think) or else designing to entice young *Crassus* as far as they could from his Father, turned their Backs and fled. Upon This young *Crassus* crying out with a loud Voice, *They dare not stand us*, with full Speed pursued them. He had with him *Censorinus* and (1) *Vegabacchus*, both famous, One for his Courage and Prowess, the Other for being of a Noble Family, and an excellent Orator, both intimate Friends of *Crassus*, and his Contemporaries. The Horse thus pushing on, the Infantry staid little behind, being exalted with Hopes and Joy, for they supposed they had already conquered, and now were only pursuing, 'till, when it was too late, and they were got too far from the main Body, they perceiv'd the Stratagem, for They that seemed to fly, now turned again, and a great many others joined them. Hereupon young *Crassus* made a Halt, thinking that the Enemy, when they saw them so few in Number, would venture to come to a close Engagement. But the *Barbarians* placing

(1) It is very plain that this *Vegabacchus*, or *Megabacchus* cannot be a Roman Name.

their Cuirassiers in the Front, dispersed their Light Horse, who wheeling round them inclosed them on every Side, without closing with them, and scouring the Fields they raised such a Dust from the Heaps of Sand with which it abounded, that the *Romans* could neither see nor speak to one another, and, for want of Room, tumbling together on Heaps, they were slain, not by a quick and easy Death, but with intolerable Pains and Convulsions; for, rowling among the Darts, they lingered away of their Wounds, and when they would by force pluck out the barbed Arrows, they caught hold of the Nerves and Veins, so that they tore and tortured Themselves. Many of them died thus, and They that survived were incapable of Action; for when young *Crassus* exhorted them to charge the Cuirassiers, they shewed him their Hands nailed to their Shields, and their Feet stuck to the Ground, so that they could neither fly nor fight. Wherefore he charged in briskly with his Horse, and made a gallant Onset; but the Fight was very unequal with respect both to the Offensive Part, and the Defensive; for the *Romans* with their weak and little Javelins, struck against Targets that were of tough raw Hides, or well-temper'd Steel; whereas the naked Bodies of the *Gauls* were exposed to the strong Spears of their Enemy. These were the Troops on whom he chiefly depended, and indeed he wrought Wonders with them, for they would catch hold of their Spears, and seizing on the Enemy, they would pull them off from their Horses, and fling them on the Ground, where they could scarce stir by reason of the Heaviness of their Armour; and many of the *Gauls* quitting their own Horses, would creep under Those of the Enemy, and stick them into the Belly. This made them unruly through the Excess of Pain, so that bounding and rising upon their hind Feet, they threw their
Riders,

Riders, and trampled upon Them and the Enemy promiscuously. But That which distressed the *Gauls* most of all was the excessive Heat and Thirst, to which they had not been accustomed. They likewise lost most of their Horses, for making full speed against the *Parthian* Cuirassiers they ran themselves upon their Spears and Javelins, so that they were forced to retire towards the Foot, and carry off young *Crassus*, who was dangerously wounded.

As they were drawing off they observed a sandy Hillock at a small Distance from them, and retreated to it. There tying their Horses to one another, and placing them in the Middle, they joined their Shields together, and as it were intrench'd themselves behind them, thinking it would prove some Defence against the *Barbarians*, but it fell out quite contrary; for when Troops are drawn up on a Plain, the Front, in some measure, secures Those who are behind; but when they are upon a Hill, the Inequality of the Ground making the Rear appear above the Front, they are All equally exposed to the missive Weapons of the Enemy. This was the Case of the *Romans*, who lay All open to the Assault of the *Barbarians*, and had nothing to do, but bewail their inglorious Fate, which had brought them to an untimely End, without allowing them an Opportunity of using their Arms, and making the Enemy sensible of their Valour.

Young *Crassus* had with him two *Greeks*, who had settled in a Town not far distant, called *Carra*. The Name of One of them was *Hieronymus*, and of the Other *Nicomachus*. These Men pressed him to retire with them to a Town called *Ischnæ*, which had declared for the *Romans*, and was not far distant. But he generously reply'd, *That there was no Death so cruel as to oblige him to abandon so many gallant Men, who had sacrificed their Lives for his Sake.* At the same time he conjured them to pro-

vide for their own Safety, embraced and dismissed them. Then being unable to make use of his own Hand, which was disabled by an Arrow, he presented his Side to his Armour-bearer, and commanded him to run him through. It is said *Censorinus* fell in the same manner, and that *Vesgabacchus* slew Himself, as did most of the Principal Officers; the rest fell, behaving themselves with much Courage and Resolution to the very last. The *Parthians* took about five hundred Prisoners, and when they had cut off the Head of the Son they marched against the Father, whose Affairs were in the following Posture. After he had commanded his Son to fall upon the Enemy, and Word was brought him that they were flying, and the *Romans* in hot Pursuit after them, and at the same time observed that He himself was not so vigorously attack'd as before, for Many of them went to join Those who were going against young *Crassus*, he began to take Heart a little, and drawing his Army into an advantageous Post, expected every Moment when his Son would return from the Pursuit.

Of all the Messengers his Son had sent to advertise him of his Danger, the First fell into the Hands of the *Barbarians*, who put them to the Sword; the Last hardly escaping, came and declared, That *Publius* was lost, unless he had speedy Succours. At this News *Crassus* was distracted by a Croud of Passions, and so discomposed in his Mind, that he had no longer the use of his Reason, being on the one Hand fearful of the main Chance, and on the other careful for his Son's Preservation, but at last he resolved to move to his Assistance. In this Resolution he order'd the Army to march; but that very Moment the *Parthians*, who were returning from the Defeat of Young *Crassus*, arrived with loud Exclamations, and Songs of Victory, which render'd them still more terrible. At the same time
their

MARCUS CRASSUS.

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their Drums and Tymbals seemed to rend the Air with a frightful Noise, and rung in the Ears of the Romans, who knew it was a Prelude to a fresh Engagement. The Barbarians brought the Head of young Crassus upon the Point of a Spear, and when they were come so near that it could be known, they asked with an insolent Scoff who were his Parents, and to what Family he belonged, *For, said they, it is impossible that so brave and gallant a Gentleman, should be the Son of so pitiful a Coward as Crassus.* This Sight dismayed the Romans above all their other Calamities, for it did not incite them to that Courage to which Men are naturally prompted by the Desire of Revenge, but with a Horrour and Trembling, that deaden'd them. In the meantime Crassus behav'd himself with more Constancy and Resolution than usual, and outdid Himself in this terrible Disaster. For he passed through the Ranks, and told them, *This, dear Country-men, is my own peculiar Loss, but the Fortune and the Glory of Rome is safe and untainted so long as You are safe; but if any one be concerned for my Loss of the best of Sons, let him shew it in revenging him upon the Enemy: Take away their Joy, revenge their Cruelty, nor be dismayed at what is past; for whoever attempts great Matters, must meet with some Disappointments: Neither did Lucullus overthrow Tigranes, nor Scipio, Antiochus, without Effusion of Blood: Our Ancestors have lost a thousand Ships on the Coasts of Sicily, and how many of their best Generals and Commanders in Italy? and yet notwithstanding these Losses they never failed to overthrow the Conquerors, for the State of Rome did not arrive to this Height by Fortune, but by Perseverance and Virtue.* Crassus endeavoured by this Discourse to revive the Courage of his Soldiers, but he hardly found One among them the better for what he said; and when he order'd them to shout for the Battel, he perceived the whole Army dispirited,

spirited, for the Shout They gave was faint, hollow and unequal, whereas That of the Enemy was clear and bold. When they came to the Attack, the Light Horse of the *Parthians* flanked the Wings of the *Romans*, and annoy'd them with their Arrows, whilst the Infantry attacking them with their Spears in the Front, drove them into a narrow Space, and confined, as in a Pound, All but Those who rush'd upon them with a desperate Courage, to avoid dying a most painful Death by their Arrows. For they could not do the Enemy much Damage, but they drew this Benefit from their Boldness, they were suddenly dispatched by the large Wounds they received, for the *Barbarians* pushed their long thick Spears with such Violence, that they often run through two Men at once.

In this Manner the Fight continued 'till Night came on, and parted them. When the *Parthians* retreated, they declared in an insulting Manner, *That they would allow Crassus one Night to mourn for the Loss of his Son, unless he thought it more expedient to his Affairs to go voluntarily, and surrender himself to Arfaces, rather than be forcibly carryed to him.* Accordingly they went, and encamped in Sight of the *Roman Army*, in a certain Assurance that the next Day would be their Own, and that they should compleat their Victory.

This proved a most uncomfortable and dismal Night to the *Romans*. They neither thought of burying their Dead, or taking Care of the Wounded, who mostly died under Pains unexpressible. They were all employed in lamenting their Own Misfortunes, for they saw there was no Possibility of escaping either by remaining in their Camp 'till it was Light, or by committing themselves under the Covert of the Night to that immense Plain, of which they could see no Bounds or Limits. Besides, their Wounded Men would not suffer them
to

to make use of this last Expedient: for to take them with them would retard their Flight, and if they left them behind, their Cries and Moans would give the Enemy Notice of what they were doing.

Tho' they were sensible that *Crassus* was the sole Cause of their deplorable Case, yet they were all desirous to see him, and hear what he had to say. But He had thrown himself on the Earth in a remote Corner with his Head covered, and lay as (1) a great Example of the Instability of Fortune to the Ignorant and Unthinking, but to the Wise and Considerate a more fatal Example of the Effects of Rashness and Ambition, which would not suffer him to be satisfied with being the First among so many Millions of Men, but made him think (2) he was inferior to all Mankind whilst there were Two that were his Superiors.

Octavius his Lieutenant and *Cassius* came to wait on him, to rouse and comfort him, but seeing him wholly abandoned to his unutterable Grief, and deaf to all their Consolations and Remonstrances,

(1) *Plutarch* in this Place very judiciously represents the different Effects such terrible Accidents produce in the Minds of Men. The Ignorant and Unthinking, who judge only from outward Appearances, charge All upon the Inconstancy of Fortune, as if She in her Levity had wrought so terrible a Reverse. But the Wise and Considerate carry their Views farther; and They penetrate to the very Bottom, and find that Fortune, that imaginary Being, is innocent, and that these Calamities are owing to our own Rashness and Ambition.

(2) This is the true Nature, and Spirit of Ambition. Not only the more exalted Dignity, and Eleva-

tion of Two Persons shall rack the Mind of an ambitious Man, but if there is but One that refuseth him the Honour and Respect he thinks due to his Character, This shall poison all the Joy and Satisfaction he conceived at seeing Himself advanced above the rest of Mankind. This was the Case of *Haman* the *Agagite*, Whom *Ahasuerus* had advanced, and set his Seat above all the Princes that were with him, *Esth.* iii. 1. and yet whilst one Man *Mordecai* bowed not nor did him Reverence, he had no relish of all the Honours that had been done him. Yet all This availeth Me nothing, so long as I see *Mordecai* the Jew sitting at the King's Gate. *Chap. v. ver. 13.*

they

they called a Council of War, in which it was resolved, that the Army should march, and that the Camp should be raised without Sound of Trumpet. At first there Orders were observed with a profound Silence, but it was not long before the Sick and Wounded finding they were to be left behind, a strange Confusion and Tumult, with an Outcry and Lamentation, seized the Camp, and a Trembling and Dread fell upon them, as if the Enemy were at their Heels; by which Means now and then turning back, now and then standing to their Order, sometimes taking up the Wounded that followed, sometimes laying of them down, they wasted all the time they had to spare, so that of all that Army three hundred Horse only escaped under the Conduct of *Ignatius*, who arriving about Midnight to *Carra*, called to the Watch, and bid them tell *Coponius* the Governor that *Crassus* had fought a very great Battel with the *Parthians*, and without explaining himself farther, or telling who he was, he made strait to the Bridge *Crassus* had laid over the *Euphrates*, by which Means he saved Himself and his Men, but was condemned by all the World for deserting his General. However this Message to *Coponius* proved of great Service to *Crassus*; for suspecting by this hasty and confused Delivery of himself, that all was not well, he immediately ordered the Garrison to be in Arms, and as soon as he understood that *Crassus* was upon the Way towards him, he went out to meet him, and receiv'd him with his Army into the Town; but the *Parthians*, although they perceiv'd their Dislodgment in the Night, yet did they not pursue them; but as soon as it was Day, they came upon Those that were left in the Camp, and put no less than four thousand of them to the Sword, and with their Light Horse pick'd up a great many Straglers. One of the Lieutenants of *Crassus*, called *Vargontinus*,

nus, being separated in the Night with three Cohorts from the Army lost his Way, and was next Morning found on a rising Ground by the *Barbarians*, who attack'd him, and slew the whole Party except Twenty, who with their Swords drawn forced through the thickest of the Enemy; whilst the *Barbarians* admiring their Courage, opened their Ranks to the right and left, and let them pass without any further Molestation to *Carrae*.

Soon after a false Report was brought to *Surena*, that *Crassus* with his principal Officers had escap'd, and that Those who were got into *Carrae* were but a confused Rout of insignificant People, not worth any further Pursuit. Supposing therefore that he had lost the very Crown and Glory of his Victory, and yet being uncertain whether it were so or not, and therefore not able to resolve whether he should besiege *Carrae* or follow *Crassus*, he sent one of his Interpreters to the Walls, commanding him in *Latin* to call *Crassus* Himself or *Cassius*, and tell them, that *Surena* demanded a Conference with them. As soon as *Crassus* heard This, he embrac'd the Proposal, and soon after came up a Band of *Arabians*, who very well knew the Faces of *Crassus* and *Cassius*, as having been frequently in the *Roman* Camp before the Battel. They having espied *Cassius* from the Wall, told him, That *Surena* desired a Peace, and would give them safe Convoy, if they would make a League with the King his Master, and withdraw all their Garrisons out of *Mesopotamia*; and This he thought most advisable for both Parties, before things came to Extremity. *Cassius* greedily embracing the Proposal, desired that a Time and Place might be appointed, where *Crassus* and *Surena* might have an Interview. The *Arabians* having charged themselves with the Message, went back to *Surena*, who was not a little rejoiced that he had got *Crassus* thus in the Toil; Wherefore he came up the next Day

Day with his Army, insulting over the *Romans*, and declaring, that if they expected any Mercy they must instantly deliver up *Crassus* and *Cassius*. The *Romans* were much provoked at this double Dealing, advised *Crassus* to lay aside his long and fruitless Hopes of the *Armenian* Succours, and resolve to fly. This Design ought to have been kept Secret from all the Inhabitants of *Carrae*, 'till it was put in Execution, but *Crassus* Himself could not conceal it from the most treacherous of Mankind, *Andromachus*; nay, he was so infatuated, as to chuse Him for his Guide. The *Parthians* had from Him punctual Intelligence of all that passed; but it being not customary with Them, and then especially hazardous for them to engage by Night, *Crassus* chose that time to begin his Flight; and the trusty *Andromachus*, lest he should get the Start too far of his Pursuers, led him into Morasses, and Places full of Ditches and Inclosures, so that it was exceeding painful and vexatious to his Company; and Some there were who supposing, by these Windings and Turnings of *Andromachus*, that no Good was intended, resolved to follow him no further; and at last *Cassius* himself returned to *Carrae*, and when his Guides, who were *Arabians*, advised him to remain there 'till the Moon was got out of *Scorpio*, he told them, That he was most afraid of *Sagittarius*; and so quickening his March he got with five hundred Horse safe into *Affyria*. Others there were, who having got honest Guides, took their Way by the Mountains called *Sinnaca*, and got into Places of Security by Day-break; these were five thousand under the Command of *Octavius*, a very gallant Man: but *Crassus* fared worse; for *Andromachus* had so entangled him in the Fens and rough Ways, that before he could get clear of them, the *Parthians* were at his Heels. There were with him four Cohorts of Legionary Soldiers, a
very

very few Horsemen, with whom having with great Difficulty got into the Way, and not being above a Mile and half from *Octavius*, instead of going to join him, he retreated unto another Hill, neither so defensible nor unpassable for the Horse, but yet lying under the Hills of *Sinnaca*, and continued in a long Ridge through the Plains. *Octavius* could see in what Danger the General was; and Himself, at first but slenderly follow'd, came in to the Rescue. Soon after the rest upbraiding one another with Baseness, in forsaking their Officers, marched down, and falling upon the *Parthians*, drove them from the Hill, and compassing *Crassus* about, and fencing him with their Shields, they declared that their General should never lie exposed to a *Parthian* Arrow, so long as there was a Man of them left alive. *Surena* therefore perceiving his Soldiers grew faint in their Attack, and knowing that if the *Romans* should spin out the Battel 'till Night, they might then gain the Mountains, and be out of his reach, he betook himself to his usual Craft; for some of the Prisoners were set free, who had heard a contrived Discourse in the Camp, that the King did not design a War to be pursued with the utmost Extremity against the *Romans*, but rather by his gentle Treatment of *Crassus* to make a Step towards a Reconciliation between the two Empires; and the better to carry on his Design, the *Barbarians* desisted from fighting, and *Surena* himself going gently towards the Hill, unbent his Bow, and held out his Hand, inviting *Crassus* to an Agreement; and withal assured him, *That the King his Master had thus far made Proof of the Roman Force and Courage contrary to his Inclinations, and in his own Defence; that now he desired no other Contention, but That of Kindness and Friendship, by making a firm Alliance, and permitting them to go away in Safety.* These Words of *Surena* Some received joyfully, and

accepted the Offer; but *Craſſus*, who had had ſufficient Experience of their Perfidiousneſs, and not being able to aſſign any Reason for this ſudden Change, gave little Credit to them, and took time to conſider; but the Soldiers cried out and adviſed him to treat, afterwards upbraided and affronted him, ſaying, *That he expoſed Them to the Slaughter by conſtraining Them to fight againſt an Enemy armed, with whom He had not the Courage to confer, tho' they appeared before him and courted him to it without their Armour.* He tryed firſt to prevail with them by Intreaties, and told them, *That if they would have patience 'till Evening, they might get into the Mountains and Paſſes, unacceſſible for Horſe, and ſo be out of Danger of the Parthian Darts: and withal he pointed out the Way with his Hand, entreating them not to neglect their Preſervation, which preſented it ſelf to them.* But when they mutiny'd, and claſhed their Targets in a threatening Manner, he was over-power'd and forced to go; and turning about at parting, ſaid, *You, Octavius and Petronius, and the reſt of the Commanders which are preſent, are Witneſſes of the Neceſſity I lie under, and of the Indignities and Violence offered to my Perſon; however when You are got into a Place of Safety, declare to all the World, that Craſſus periſh'd rather by the Subtilty of his Enemies, than by the Treason and Perfidiousneſs of his Friends and Countrymen.* But Octavius and Petronius would not ſtay behind, or ſuffer him to go down by Himſelf, but attended him. As for the Liſtors, They would likewise have waited upon him, but he diſmiſſed them. The Firſt Perſons the Barbarians ſent to meet and receive him, were two Mongrel Greeks, who leaping from their Horſes made him a profound Reverence, and deſired him, in the Greek Language, to ſend Some of his Retinue before, that they might ſee that Surena was a Man of Honour, and that both He and Thoſe about him were diſarm'd. But Craſſus answered,

swered, *That if he had entertained the least Concern for Life, he would never have intrusted himself in their Hands; but sent two Brothers, the Rosci by Name, to enquire on what Foot they were to treat, and what the Numbers were to be on each Side. As soon as they appeared, Surena ordered them to be seized, and advancing upon the Spur with the principal Officers of his Army, as soon as he was in Sight, (1) What is it I see, said he, a Roman Emperor on Foot, and Myself and Retinue on Horse-back? Bring him a Horse immediately. But Crassus replied, That there was no Error committed on either Side, for they Both met each according to the Custom of his own Country. Surena told him, That from that time forward there was a League betwixt the King his Master and the Romans, but that Crassus must go with him to the Banks of the Euphrates to sign it; for you Romans, added he, are something forgetful of your Articles and Agreements, and therefore need some remarkable Sign to keep it in your Memory; and at the same time reached out his Hand to him. Crassus gave order that one of his Padds should be brought, but Surena told him, There was no need he should put himself to that Trouble, for the King his Master had sent him One as a Present: and immediately a Horse with a golden Bit, and very rich Trappings, was brought up to him, and Himself forcibly put into the Saddle, by Some belonging to the King, who switched the Horse to make him go the faster. Octavius was the First that was shock'd at this Usage, and therefore ran, and seized the Bridle. At the same time Petronius, one of the Tribunes, and soon after the*

(1) This Barbarian, from an Excess of Pride and Haughtiness, fancied to himself that Crassus came to him on Foot in Token of Humility and Respect; and Crassus, who clearly discovered the Arrogance that lay concealed under that Shew of Civility, rebuked it bravely in his Answer, which gave him to understand that he came on Foot because it was agreeable to the Custom of his Country.

rest of the Company that attended *Crassus*, came in, and endeavour'd to stop the Horse, and remove the *Barbarians* that surrounded him. Thus from pulling and thrusting one another, they came to a Tumult, and soon after to Blows. *Octavius* drawing his Sword, killed a Groom belonging to one of the *Barbarians*; and One of them getting behind *Octavius*, killed Him. *Petronius* being without his defensive Weapons received a Blow on his Breast, at which he leap'd from his Horse unhurt. That very Moment *Crassus* was killed by a *Parthian* called *Pomaxaithres*; Others say he was killed by some other hand, and that *Pomaxaithres* cut off his Head, and his Right Hand. But both the One and the Other are founded only upon Conjecture. For of all Those that were then present, Some of them were killed as they were fighting near *Crassus*, and the Rest taking to their Heels got to their Comrades upon the Hill.

The *Parthians* followed them thither close, and told them, that *Crassus* had indeed received the Punishment he justly deserved, but that *Surena* invited the rest to come down from the Hill without Fear, giving them his Word for their Safety. Upon this Assurance Some of them came down, and surrendered; the Rest taking the Advantage of the Night dispersed. But of These very Few got safe off, most of them being chased by the *Arabians* the next Day, and put to the Sword. It is generally said, that in all twenty thousand Men were slain, and ten thousand taken Prisoners. *Surena* sent the Head and Hand of *Crassus* to *Hyrodes* the King, who was then in *Armenia*. At the same time he caused a Report to be spread about that he was bringing *Crassus* alive to *Seleucia*, and prepared a sort of burlesque Procession, which by way of Insult and Derision he named his *Triumph*. He had among his Prisoners a *Roman* called *Caius Pacianus*, who very much resembled *Crassus*. Him they dressed
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in a *Barbarian* Habit, instructed him to answer to the Title of *Crassus* and *Emperor*, and made him precede on Horseback at the Head of the Troops. A Band of Trumpeters and Lictors marched before him, bearing the Rods and Axes, and mounted upon Camels. They hung the empty Purses of the *Romans* at the Ends of the Rods, and fixed the Heads of the Slain fresh bleeding on the Points of the Axes. He was followed by a Company of Courtezans of *Seleucia*, All excellent Musicians, singing Songs full of scurrilous Reflections upon the Effeminacy and Cowardice of *Crassus*.

The Design of this burlesque Shew was to amuse, and divert the People. But what followed had something in it more grave and serious. *Surena*, not content with this Farce, convened the Senate of *Seleucia*, (1) and produced before them the obscene Writings of *Aristides*, called the *Milesiacks*. This was not a Forgery contrived on purpose to blacken the *Romans*, for those Works were really found in the Baggage of *Roscius*, and gave *Surena* a good Handle to reflect upon the *Romans*, who were not able even in the time of War, to abstain from such wanton Writings and Practices. However when *Surena* had done all he could to expose and exclaim against the Manners of the *Romans*, it appeared to those Senators that *Æsop* spoke like a wise and knowing Man, when he said, (2) *That*

(1) Here we have a General of the *Parthians*, who in order to decry the *Romans*, and render them ridiculous, produceth an obscene Book which was found among the Baggage of One of the Officers. This *Aristides* was an Historian of *Miletus*, and acquired a great Reputation by his History of the Transactions in *Sicily*, by a Treatise of what passed in *Italy*, and a History of *Persia*; but he dishonoured and destroy'd it All by his

Milesiacks, wherein he gave too wanton a Description of the gallant Adventures, or rather the abominable Debauches practis'd in *Miletus*.

(2) This Fable in *Æsop* was never better applied than upon this Occasion. *Surena* could see and reflect upon a *Roman* Officer for reading such filthy Writings, but he could not see the Abominable Life he led Himself, full of Debauch and Luxury.

all Men carry a Wallet on their Shoulders; that in the Part Before they lay their Neighbours Faults, and in That Behind their Own. For they observed that *Surena* had put into the fore part those *Milesian* Obscenities, and in That behind his own Voluptuousness and Sensuality in that Infamous Retinue he dragged after him, which gave Ground to believe that (1) another *Sibaris* was to be found in the Midst of *Parthia*; for he was followed by an infinite Number of Chariots, which were for the Use of his Concubines, and an Equipage suitable to it; so that his Army resembled Vipers, and that sort of Serpents called *Scytale*; for the Head look'd terrible with Spears, Arrows, Darts, and Horsemen, but the Tail consisted of Curtezans, Musick, Songs, Dissolution and Debauch. (2) *Roscus* indeed was not to be excused; but sure the *Parthians* had forgot (when they exclaimed thus at the *Milesiacks*) that many of the Royal Line of the *Arfacidae* had been born of *Milesian* and *Ionian* Strumpets. Whilst these things were doing, *Hyrodes* had struck up a Peace with the King of *Armenia*, and made a Match between his Son and that Prince's Daughter; their Feastings and Entertainments were very sumptuous, and sometimes some *Grecian* Compositions suitable to the Occasion were recited amongst them: for *Hyrodes* was not altogether ignorant of the *Greek* Language; and *Artasdes* was so expert in it, that he wrote Tragedies, Orations, and Histories, Some

(1) *Sibaris*, a Town in *Lucania*, was the Seat of Luxury and Effeminacy. Her uncommon Felicities, and that Pitch of Grandure to which Fortune had raised her, flung her into an Excess of Luxury and Debauch, which in time proved her Ruin.

(2) *Plutarch* very justly condemns the Corruption of this Re-

man Officer; but besides the Injustice of condemning a whole Nation for the sake of one Debauchee, it became neither *Surena* nor the *Parthians* to reflect thus upon the *Milesiacks*, since several of their Princes were the Fruit of such Abominations. This Reflection is very judicious.

of which are still extant. Whilst they they were in the Height of their Feasting and Merriment, *Sillaces* arrived one Night at the Palace Gate with the Head of *Crassus*. The Tables were (1) not yet removed, and in the Moment whilst *Jason* an excellent Tragedian of the City of *Tralli* was repeating some Pieces of the *Bacchanals* of *Euripides*, and the Tragical Adventures of *Pentheus* and his Mother *Agave*, and whilst All that heard him were applauding him, *Sillaces* enter'd into the Hall, adored the King, and laid at his Feet the Head of *Crassus*. At the Sight of This the *Parthians* clap'd their Hands, and made the Hall ring with their Acclamations and Applause. The Waiters by the King's Order invited *Sillaces* to seat himself at the Table, whilst *Jason* delivering to one of the *Mimi* the Habit of *Pentheus*, and dressing himself in that of *Agave*, took up the Head of *Crassus*, and like a real *Bacchanal* full of Enthusiasm sung that Part, where *Agave* descending from the Mountains, and bearing upon her *Thyrus* the Head of *Pentheus*, which she fancied to be the Head of a young Lion, saith,

*We've hunted down a Lion's Whelp to-day,
And from the Mountains bring a Noble Prey.*

The whole Company were highly delighted with those Verses; and as they continued to sing the following Lines, which are a Dialogue between *Agave* and the *Chorus*, and where the *Chorus* asks,

Cho. *What happy Hand the fatal Monster slew?*

Ag. *I claim that Honour to my Courage due.*

(1) So it ought to be read with a Negative. ἀπρημέναι μὲν ἔχουσιν αἱ τράπεζαι, the Tables were not taken away. They were not risen from Table, for it follows after, that the Guards by the King's Order made *Sillaces* sit down at Ta-

ble. Or if the Text is to stand without the Negative, the Tables were just removed, it must be understood that the Meat was taken off, and Fruit served up in its stead, which was called the Second Table.

Pomaxaithres, who was sitting at the Table, rose, and would have taken the Head from *Jason*, insisting that those Words were more properly to be sung by Him than that Actor; since the Death of *Crassus* was an Honour due to Him. The King was highly pleased at this Scuffle; and, according to the Custom of the *Parthians*, gave *Pomaxaithres* the Reward due to Such as had killed the General of the Enemy, and to *Jason* the Actor he gave a Talent. Thus truly Tragical did *Crassus's* Expedition prove, ending in what they call an (1) *Exodium*. But yet

(1) The antient Romans had a Kind of Farce called *Satires*, consisting of Songs and Dances, and Pieces of Wit indifferently levelled at the Spectators as well as Actors, but with a due Regard to the Laws, and to Decency. These *Satires* continued in Vogue for two hundred and twenty Years together, till *Livius Andronicus* had the Courage to write just Tragedies after the Manner of the *Grecians*. This new way of writing pleased so much, that the *Satires* lay neglected, whilst the Poets Themselves acted their own Pieces; but after they had given them to the Players, the Roman Youth restored them to the Theatre, and represented them at first between the Acts of their Tragedies instead of the Chorus; for as the Subjects of those Farces were broken and Incoherent, they could easily be separated. At last they clap'd them All to the End of their Tragedies, especially Those called the *Atellane* Tragedies, and at the same time they changed their Name of *Satires* into that of *Exodium*, that is *Issue* or *Conclusion*, because they acted them at the End of their Tragedies. But That which is most remarkable is, that the Players acted those Farces under the same Masks, and in the same Habits they had used just before in the Tragedy, as if they were still representing the same Persons, and performing the same Parts; and This gives us a true Sense of the Passage here in *Plutarch*, which has never been rightly explained. For We find that the same Persons, who acted in the *Bacchanals*, continue to act in this Farce with the Head of *Crassus*. But it may be said that the Word *Exodium* signified properly among the *Greeks*, not a detach'd Piece play'd after the Conclusion of the Tragedy, but the End, the Unravelling of the Tragedy itself, as may be seen in *Aristotle*; and This is very true. In this Sense *Plutarch* hath employ'd the Word at the End of the Life of *Pelopidas*, and That of *Alexander*, where it is very plain that *Exodium* is made use of to signify the End, the working up of the Tragedy. And why therefore is it not taken here in the same Sense? This is the Reason. In the Lives of *Pelopidas*, and *Alexander*, he treats of the Adventures of *Grecians*, and consequently makes use of such Ideas and Expressions as are familiar

yet the divine Justice fail'd not to punish both *Hyrodes* for his Cruelty, and *Surena* for his Perjury: for *Surena* not long after was put to death by *Hyrodes*, out of meer Envy to his Glory; and *Hyrodes* Himself having lost his Son *Pacorus* (who was slain in a Fight with the *Romans*) falling into a Disease which turned to a Dropsy, had *Aconite* given him by his second Son *Phraates*: (1) The Poison working only upon the Disease, and carrying away the dropfical Matter with it, the King began to recover on the sudden; so that *Phraates* at length was forced to take the shortest course, and stifled him with his Pillow.



The Comparison of Crassus with Nicias.

IN this Comparison, we must in the first Place allow that the Wealth of *Nicias*, compared with That of *Crassus*, was accumulated by more honest, or at least by Means less blameable. (2) It is true, no

miliar to *Grecians*; and in This of *Crassus* he gives us an Account of the Adventures of a *Roman*, and for that reason makes choice of such Ideas and Expressions as are known among the *Romans*. Here the Tragedy itself concludeth with the Death of *Crassus*, and That which is represented in the King's Palace, is a Representation of two Things, the Tragedy, and the *Exodion*; the Passages out of the *Bacchanals* of *Euripides* That is the Tragedy; and That which follows between *Jason* and *Pomaxaithres*, about the Head of *Crassus*, That is the *Exodion*.

(1) This is a very remarkable Circumstance, the Poison proved a Remedy to the Dropsy, and the

Dropsy prevented the Poison from having the Effect intended by it. That is, the Heat and Flames of the Poison dried up the watry Humours of the Dropsy, and those Humours extinguish'd the Flames of the Poison.

(2) We have here the Works in the Mines condemn'd out of the Mouth of a Heathen, because Those who are employed in that Service, come to a miserable and untimely End, by reason of the pestilential Vapours that abound in them. So that the Means *Nicias* made use of to enrich himself, are not allowable any otherwise than as they are compared with Those of *Crassus*, which were more unjust and heinous.

one can approve the Works *Nicias* carried on in the Mines, where they usually employ Profligates, or Barbarians, most of them in Chains, who perish sooner or later in those unwholsome subterraneous Caverns. But if We compare this Manner of acquiring Wealth with That of *Crassus*, who enrich'd himself either by *Sylla's* Proscriptions and Confiscations, or by the Purchase of Houses, which he bought when they were on Fire, and when it was deemed impossible to save them from the Flames, we shall find it more allowable, and more becoming a Man of Probity. *Crassus* publickly and professedly made use of those Arts as other Men do of Husbandry, and of placing their Money out to Interest; and for those other Crimes, with which he was charged, and which he always denied, such as taking Money for his Vote in the Senate, his pillaging his Allies, his courting Widows to be made their Heir, and concealing Criminals in his House for Reward; These are things of which *Nicias* never fell under the least Suspicion. On the contrary, he was rather laugh'd at for giving Money to Sycophants, merely out of timorousness; a Course indeed that would by no means become a *Pericles* or *Aristides*; but was necessary for Him, who by nature was destitute of good Assurance. It was for just such an Action as This, that *Lycurgus* the Orator afterwards valued himself to the People; for being accused of having bought off one of those informing Sycophants with Money, and stopp'd his Mouth, *It is a great Pleasure to Me*, said he, *to reflect, that having administered your Affairs for so long a time, I am at last accused rather for giving than receiving.* If we consider them with respect to their Expences, we shall find Those of *Nicias* to flow from a publick Spirit; for He with a laudable Ambition expended vast Sums in Offerings to the Gods, endowing Schools,

Schools, and in publick Shews. It may perhaps be said, that all that *Nicias* laid out this way, and the whole Estate that remained to him after, was but a Mite in Comparison to what *Crassus* spent at one time, (1) when he feasted so many Millions of People, and gave them whereupon to live for a long time after. To This I answer, that it is well known that Vice is nothing else but an Irregularity, and Contrariety in the Manners, especially when We see a Man apply That to honest and laudable Purposes, which he had been gathering by dishonest and shameful Methods. So much for their Riches, and the Use they made of them. As for their Management in Publick Affairs, no Craft, Injustice, or arbitrary Action, can be objected to *Nicias*; On the contrary, he was trick'd by *Alcibiades*, and whenever he had Occasion to appear in the Assemblies of the People, he constantly behaved himself with great Fear and Precaution. Whereas *Crassus* was generally blamed for his Infidelity, Prevarication, and Fickleness in his Friendships and Enmities. And as for Violence, he cannot Himself deny his hiring Assassines to murder *Cato*, and *Domitius*, that he might the better compass his Ends, and obtain the Consulate. Then at the Meeting of the People for disposing of the Provinces, Many were wounded,

(1) He has forgot the Tenth of his Estate which he sacrificed to *Hercules*, as he has told us in the Beginning of his Life. But we find here a very remarkable Opinion, or Judgment of *Plutarch*. *Crassus* had devoted the Tenth of all his Substance to *Hercules*, he had entertained the whole Body of the Roman People at a magnificent Feast, and at the same time distributed among them Corn sufficient to serve each Person for three Months together. *Nicias* had only made some Offerings of small Value, and presented a few Shews and Interludes to the People, All which could be consider'd as next to Nothing, when compared to what *Crassus* had expended, and yet *Plutarch* gives Him the Preference, and looks on *Crassus's* Liberality as vicious, as the Reader will observe from what follows.

and

The Comparison of

and Four killed out-right. And This puts me in mind of a Passage which I had forgot in the Relation of his Life, which was that he struck with his Fist one *Lucius Analius* a Senator, for contradicting him, and drove him out of the Court bleeding. As *Crassus* was to be blamed for his Tyrannical and Arbitrary Courses, (1) so is *Nicias* no less to be condemned for his Pusillanimity, and Meanness of Spirit, which made him submit himself to the basest and most profligate sort of Villains; but in this respect, *Crassus* shewed himself more Noble-spirited and Magnanimous; who having to do not with such Fellows at *Cleon* or *Hyberbolus*, but with the Magnificence of *Cæsar*, and the three Triumphs of *Pompey*, would not stoop, but bravely bore up against their Joint-Interests; and carried the Dignity of Censor even from *Pompey* Himself. For a Minister that truly loves his Country ought not to regard how invidious the thing is, but how noble and useful, and by the greatness of his Interest to overpower Envy; but if he will be always aiming at security and quiet, and yield to *Alcibiades* upon the Bench, and to the *Lacedæmonians* at *Pylus*, there are opportunities enough of Retirement, and he may sit snug in a Corner at *Athens*, out of the noise of Business, and weave to himself Garlands of dull and quiet Inactivity. (2) His desire of Peace indeed, and to finish that re-

(1) If hot and fiery Natures, like That of *Crassus*, are dangerous in a State, so likewise are those timorous unmanly Spirits, which can stoop to the vilest and most infamous of the People, as did *Nicias*. For which Reason *Plutarch* very justly prefers in this Respect the Boldness of *Crassus* to *Nicias* his Timidity. For at least this Boldness carries in it a Sort of State and Magnanimity, worthy of Commendation, especially if we consider that the Antagonists

Crassus had to deal with, were other Sort of Men than Those who opposed *Nicias*.

(2) I wish every Commander that breathes nothing but War and Triumphs would seriously consider this Passage in *Plutarch*, who calls this Desire of *Nicias* for a Peace a *divine Desire*, and assures us that his Endeavours to put an End to the War are preferable to all the Exploits of *Crassus*, though he had added the *Indian Seas* to the *Roman Dominions*.

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dious War, was a Divine and truly *Grecian* Design; nor does *Crassus* deserve to be compared to Him on this Account, although he had enlarged the *Roman* Empire from the *Caspian* Sea to the *Indian* Ocean. However, in a State where there is some sense of Virtue left, a powerful Man ought not to give way to the Ill-affected, or expose the Government to Those that are incapable of it, nor suffer high Trusts to be committed to Such as want common Honesty. This did *Nicias*, who by his Connivance raised *Cleon*, a Fellow remarkable for nothing but his loud Voice and brazen Face, to the command of an Army. Indeed I do not commend *Crassus*, who in the War with *Spartacus* was more forward to fight than became a discreet General, though he was put upon it by a point of Honour, lest that *Pompey* by his coming should rob him of the Glory of the Action, as *Mummius* did *Metellus* at the taking of *Corinth*: But *Nicias's* Proceedings are inexcusable; for he did not yield up to his Competitor the Charge of Captain-General at a time when there was any likelihood of Success; but when he knew the Expedition would be very hazardous, he then resolved to take care of One, and left the Common-wealth to shift for itself; in which he acted very contrary to *Themistocles*, who when he saw a Man of no Merit, an ignorant unthinking Fellow, like to be named Captain-General in the War against the *Persians*, which would have brought the State into manifest Danger, he bought him off with a round Sum of Money, and made him drop his Pretensions; neither did he act like *Cato*, who put up to be Tribune of the People in a critical Conjunction, when he saw the Times were like to be full of Trouble and Danger. But *Nicias* reserved himself for the Command, when he was to march against *Minoa*, *Cithera*, or the poor *Melians*, but drew his Neck

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Neck out of the Collar, when they were to buckle with the *Lacedæmonians*; and committed the Fleet, the Soldiers, their Arms, and the Command, at a time when the Exigence of their Affairs required an Officer of consummate Wisdom and Experience, to the Unskilfulness and Temerity of *Cleon*. Wherein he not only betray'd his own Honour, but the Interest and Preservation of his Country. For this Reason he was afterwards in a manner press'd to the *Sicilian Expedition*, in spite of all he could say or do to get himself excused from it. For Men generally believed that his Backwardness to it did not proceed from any reasonable Grounds he had within himself of the Inexpediency of the Expedition, but was the Effect of Sloth and Effeminacy, which induced him to deprive his City, as much as in Him lay, of the Conquest of *Sicily*. But after all, This is a great Sign of the high Opinion they had of him; tho' he was always averse to War, and earnestly declin'd the Command, yet they always pitch'd upon him as the most experienced and ablest General they had. Whereas *Crassus*, though he always desired it, yet he never could obtain it but in the Servile War, and then he got it for want of other Officers; *Pompey*, *Metellus*, *Lucullus*, and his Brother, being otherwise employed; altho' he was at that time at his highest Pitch of Interest and Reputation. Which makes it probable that even They who were most in his Interest, were persuaded, with the Comic Poet, *that he was fit for any thing but War*. But this Persuasion was of no Benefit to the *Romans*, who were over-powered by his inordinate Ambition, and Desire to command. In a Word, the *Athenians* sent *Nicias* to the *Sicilian War* against his Will, and *Rome* against Hers was engaged by *Crassus* in the *Parthian*. *Crassus* was the sole Instrument of the Calamities that beset the *Romans*, but *Athens* was the Cause of all
Those

Those that befel *Nicias*. However even in This, *Nicias* is more to be commended, than *Crassus* to be condemned. For *Nicias*, like a wise experienced Captain, would not suffer himself to be mis-led with those vain imaginary Hopes, that had infatuated his Fellow-Citizens, but constantly made use of all his Power to prevent the *Sicilian Expedition*; and (1) *Crassus* on the contrary excited the *Romans* to the War against the *Parthians*, as to an Undertaking that could not fail of Success, in which indeed he was deceived, but we cannot deny him the Glory of having aimed at great things; for whilst *Cæsar* was reducing the West, and subduing the *Gauls*, the *Germans*, and the *Britons*, He in the mean time was for planting the *Roman Eagles* in the East, for subduing *Asia*, and pushing his Conquests to the *Indian Ocean*. Which was no more than what *Pompey* aimed at, and *Lucullus* attempted. But They were Persons of a sedate Temper, and preserved their Reputation with all Mankind, tho' they engaged themselves in the same Project with *Crassus*, and had the same Ends in View. For when the Province of *Asia* was assigned to *Pompey* by a Decree of the People, the Senate opposed it with Vigour; and when News was brought to *Rome* that *Cæsar* had overthrown three hundred thousand *Germans*, *Cato* moved in full Senate to have him delivered up to the Vanquished, to avert the Anger of the Gods from *Rome*, and throw it on the Head of Him, who had violated the Treaties. But the People laugh-

(1) Here we find a great Instance of *Plutarch's* Judgment and Wisdom. He commends *Nicias* for opposing the *Sicilian Expedition*. and yet he will not blame *Crassus* for exciting the *Romans* to undertake That against *Parthia*, because he thought it an Under-

taking less difficult than he found it. Nay, he goes further, and is for justifying him by the Examples of *Pompey* and *Lucullus*, and the extravagant Rejoicings of the People upon the News of *Cæsar's* Victories over the *Germans*.

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ing at *Cato's* Motion, decreed Supplications for fifteen Days together, in return to the Gods for so signal a Victory. How then would they have behaved themselves, how excessive would their Joy have been, if *Crassus* had sent them Word from *Babylon* that He was victorious, and that passing from thence into *Media*, and *Persia*, and over-running *Hyrkania*, *Susa*, and *Bactria*, he had reduced all those Kingdoms to *Roman* Provinces? In a Word, (1) if *Justice* is to be violated, as *Euripides* has it, and we grow impatient of Repose, and have no taste of our present Enjoyments, it is not to be violated for the sake of so inconsiderable a Place as *Scandia*, or to raise *Mende*, or go in Chace of the *Eginetæ*, who have abandoned their own Country, and like Birds shelter'd themselves in foreign Climates, but it must be for more valuable Purposes; we are to set a higher Price upon Injustice, and not commit it for every trifle, as if Justice was a vile worthless thing beneath our Notice. For They who cry up *Alexander's* Expedition to the Sky, and condemn That of *Crassus*, are in my Opinion much in the wrong, and do not judge of the Actions of the One or the Other from the Nature of them, but from the Event.

If we consider them in their military Capacities, we shall find that *Nicias* performed many brave Exploits, for he overthrew the Enemy in several

(1) *Plutarch* has an Eye here to what was urged against *Crassus*, in order to prevent this War against the *Parthians*, that he was going to attack a People that was in Friendship and Alliance with the *Romans*, and had done nothing to deserve such Usage, and upon this Account he applies that memorable Saying, *If Justice must ever be violated, let it be for the sake of Empire; which serves in* some sort to justify *Crassus*, who did not violate the Law of Nations, but with a Design to enlarge the *Roman* Dominions. But let *Plutarch* say what he please, this Maxim of *Euripides* will never indemnify *Crassus*; for let the Purchase of Injustice he never so high, it is always to be condemned, tho' it ended in the Conquest of the whole World.

Encoun-

Encounters, and was very near making himself Master of *Syracuse*; and the Misfortunes with which he was overwhelmed, were not all to be charged upon Himself; Some were owing to his own Sickness, and That with which his Army came to be infected, and Some to the Envy and Ill-will of his Fellow-Citizens. Whereas *Crassus* committed so many Faults, that he put it out of the Power of Fortune to be any ways favourable to him; so that it is not so much to be wonder'd at, that his Folly should be overcome by the Power of the *Partians*, (1) as that it should be so prevalent as to overcome the good Fortune of the *Romans*.

In their Ends they were very like, for they Both died unhappily; but with this Difference, that One of them always expressed a great Attention and Respect to every thing that related to Divination, which the Other neglected and despised. Now it is very difficult to judge which of them took the wisest and safest Method; (2) though in all Appearance, the Errors committed thro' some religious Motive or Principle authorised by Custom immemorial, and acknowledged by all Mankind, are more pardonable than Those which arise from the Spirit of Presumption and Obstinacy, which makes a Man think himself above Law, tho' ne-

(1) This Idea is strong and elevated. It is no great Wonder if *Crassus* his Incapacity should be overthrown by the superior Power of the *Partians*, but it is next to a Miracle that that Incapacity should overthrow the Fortune of *Rome*. This indeed has something in it of the Sublime. What can possibly give us a stronger Idea of the Weakness and Incapacity of that *Roman* General?

(2) In truth this single Reason ought to be some sort of curb

upon the most Incredulous. For a Man who has but the least Grain of Sense, will chuse rather to be guilty of some trivial trip whilst he lives in Conformity to the received Customs and Usages, than expose himself to much Greater, by presumptuously raising himself above the Laws, tho' never so wisely framed, and established. This is a very important Maxim, sufficient to stop the Mouth of the most obstinate Libertine.

ver so well established. This may farther be said in respect to the Death both of the One and the Other, that *Crassus* is much less to be blamed than *Nicias*, forasmuch as He did not surrender himself voluntarily, he was not bound, nor abused with vain Hopes; He only gave way to the pressing Instances of his Friends, and suffered contrary to the Law of Nations; Whereas *Nicias*, in hopes of saving a shameful ignominious Life, voluntarily submitted himself to his Enemies, which made his Death the more unply'd and dishonourable.



THE





L. Cheron. Inv.

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O F
E U M E N E S.

DURIS reports that *Eumenes* the *Cardian* was the Son of a poor Waggoner in the *Tbracian Chersonesus*, but (1) liberally educated, both as a Scholar and a Soldier ; and that while he was but young, *Philip* passing thro' *Cardia*, diverted himself with a sight of the Training, and other Exercises of the Youth of that place ; among Whom *Eumenes* performing with the greatest address and activity, *Philip* was so pleased with him, as to take him into his Service. But They seem to speak more probably, who tell us, That *Philip* advanced *Eumenes* for the Friendship he bore to his Father, whose Guest he had sometime been. After the Death of *Philip*, he continued in the Service of *Alexander*, with the Title of his principal Secretary, but in as great Favour as the most

(1) There were publick Schools whither Children of all Conditions had a Privilege of going.

intimate of his Familiars, being esteemed as wise and faithful as any Person about Court: So that he went General in the Expedition against *India*, and succeeded in the Command of *Perdiccas*, when *Perdiccas* was advanced to That of *Hephestion* then newly deceased. Wherefore after the Death of *Alexander*, when *Neoptolemus*, who had been Captain of his Life-guard, said, *That Himself had followed Alexander with Shield and Spear, but Eumenes only with Pen and Paper*, the *Macedonians* laugh'd at him, as knowing very well, that besides other particular Marks of Favour, the King had done him the Honour to make him a kind of Kinsman to Himself by Marriage. For *Alexander's* first Mistress in *Asia*, by whom he had his Son *Hercules*, was *Barsine* the Daughter of *Artabazus*: Now, (1) in the famous Distribution of the *Persian* Ladies amongst his Captains, *Alexander* gave one of her Sisters named *Apame* to *Ptolemy*, and the Younger, who was likewise called *Barsine*, to *Eumenes*. Notwithstanding these particular Marks of his Favour he frequently incurred *Alexander's* Displeasure, particularly once upon the score of *Hephestion*: For the Quarters that had been taken up for *Eumenes*, *Hephestion* assigned to *Euius* a Musician. Whereat *Eumenes* in a Rage went with *Mentor* to *Alexander*, and upbraided him aloud, telling him, *That the way to be regarded was to throw away their Arms, and turn Fidlers or Tragedians*; insomuch that *Alexander* at first took their Part, and chid *Hephestion*: But soon after he changed his Mind, and was angry with *Eumenes*; accounting the Freedom he had taken, to be rather intended as an Affront to the

(1) After *Alexander* had espoused *Statira*, the eldest Daughter of *Darius*, and bestowed the Youngest, named *Drypetis*, on *Hephestion*, the better to conceal the Scandal of these Nuptials with Barbarians, he persuaded the principal Officers in the Court and his prime Favourites to do the same thing, chusing for them four and twenty Virgins out of the most honourable Families in *Persia*. *Quint. Curt. Lib. x.*

King, than a Reflection upon *Hephæstion*. Afterwards, when *Nearchus* was to be sent with a Fleet into the Gulf of *Persia*, *Alexander* borrowed Money of his Friends (his own Treasury being exhausted) and would have had three hundred Talents of *Eumenes*; but He sent a Hundred only, pretending that it was not without great difficulty he had raised so much. *Alexander* neither complained, nor took the Money; but gave private order to set the Tent of *Eumenes* on fire, designing to take him in a manifest Lye, when his Money was carried out: but before that could be done, the Tent was consumed, and *Alexander* repented of his Orders when it was too late, for all his Papers, which *Eumenes* had in his Custody, were burnt on that Occasion. Now the Gold and Silver which was melted down in the Fire, being afterwards digged up, was found to be more than a (1) thousand Talents; yet *Alexander* took none of it, and only writ to the several Princes to send new Copies of the Papers that were burnt, and ordered them to be delivered to *Eumenes*.

Some time after, another Dispute happen'd between Him and *Hephæstion*, concerning some Present from *Alexander*; and a great deal of ill Language passed between them; yet *Eumenes* still continued in favour, 'till the Death of *Hephæstion*, which happening soon after, the King took it very much to heart, and presuming that all Those who had differed with him in his life-time, did now rejoice at his death, used great strangeness and severity towards them, especially towards *Eumenes*, whom he often twitted with his Quarrels, and ill Language to *Hephæstion*. But He being a wise and dextrous

(1) What a horrible Piece of immense Treasures! But Avarice Ingratitude was This in *Eumenes*, acknowledgeth no Obligations of who cou'd deny his King and Be- Honour or Gratitude. factor so small a share out of such

Courtier, made advantage of what had done him prejudice, and struck in with the King's humour of honouring his Friend's Memory, suggesting divers Inventions to do him Honour, and contributing very largely and readily towards erecting him a stately Monument. After *Alexander's* Death, a Dispute happening between the *Phalanx*, and his more intimate Friends; *Eumenes*, though in his Judgment he inclin'd to the latter, yet in his Words and Actions stood neuter, as if he thought it unbecoming Him, who was a Stranger, to interpose in the private Quarrels of the *Macedonians*. And when the rest of *Alexander's* Friends left *Babylon*, He staid behind, and in a great measure pacified the Soldiers, and disposed them towards an Accommodation. When the Officers had agreed among themselves, and quelled the Mutiny of the Soldiers, they shared the several Commands and Signiories, and made *Eumenes* Governor of *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*, and all the Coast upon the *Pontic* Sea, as far as *Trapezond*, which at that time was not subject to the *Macedonians* (for *Ariarathes* kept it as King) but *Leonatus* and *Antigonus*, with a great Army, were to put him in possession of it. *Antigonus* (being now grown haughty, and despising all Men) took no notice of *Perdiccas's* Letters; *Leonatus* with his Army came down into *Pbrygia* to the Service of *Eumenes*; but being visited by *Hecataeus*, the Tyrant of the *Cardians*, and requested rather to relieve *Antipater* and the *Macedonians* that were besieged in *Lamia*, he resolved upon that Expedition, inviting *Eumenes* to a share in it, and endeavouring to reconcile him to *Hecataeus*; for there was an hereditary Feud between them upon some Politick Account; and *Eumenes* had often declared openly, that *Hecataeus* was a Tyrant; and had exhorted *Alexander* to restore the *Cardians* to their Liberty. Wherefore, at this time also he declined the Expedition

pedition proposed, pretending, that he feared lest *Antipater*, who already hated him, should, for that reason, and to gratify *Hecateus*, kill him. *Leonatus* so far believed it, as to impart to *Eumenes* his whole Design, which, as he pretended, and gave out, was to aid *Antipater*, but, in truth, to seize the Kingdom of *Macedon*; and he shewed him Letters from *Cleopatra*, wherein she seemed to invite him to *Pella* with a design to marry him. But *Eumenes*, whether fearing *Antipater*, or looking upon *Leonatus* as a fond, rash, unconstant, and therefore lost Man, stole away from him by Night, with his whole Equipage, which consisted of three hundred Horse, and two hundred of his Domesticks well armed. He took likewise with him all his Treasure, which amounted to five thousand Talents, and fled to *Perdiccas*, to whom he discovered *Leonatus's* Design, and thereby gained great Interest in him, and was made of his Council. Soon after, *Perdiccas* in Person, at the Head of a gallant Army, conducted *Eumenes* into *Cappadocia*; and having taken *Ariarathes* Prisoner, and subdued the whole Country, declared Him Governor of it. *Eumenes* immediately disposed of the chief Cities to his own Friends, and made Captains of Garrisons, Judges, Receivers, and other Officers, of Such as he thought fit himself, *Perdiccas* not at all interposing. After This, he departed with *Perdiccas*, and kept close to him as well out of Respect to his Person, as because he did not think it consistent with his Interest to be absent from Court. But *Perdiccas* conceiving that he should be able of Himself to effect what he had been contriving, and considering, that the Provinces he left behind, might stand in need of an active and faithful Governor, he dismissed *Eumenes* when he came into *Cilicia*, under colour of sending him to his Command, but, in truth, to secure *Armenia*, which was Fron-

tier to it, and unsettled through the Practices of *Neoptolemus*. This *Neoptolemus* was as proud and insolent as his vain Hopes, with which he had flatter'd himself, cou'd make him. *Eumenes* endeavoured to keep him within the Bounds of his Duty by kind Words, and an obliging Behaviour; and perceiving that the *Macedonian Phalanx* were become very insolent and ungovernable, he contrived to raise a Body of Horse that might be able to keep them in Awe, and be a Curb upon them. To this End he granted all manner of Immunities, and Exemption from Taxes, to as Many of the Country as were able to mount. He likewise bought up great store of Horses, which he gave among such of his own Men, as he most confided in; inflaming the Courage of his Soldiers, by many Gifts and Honours, and inuring their Bodies to Service, by frequent Marches and Exercises; so that Some of the *Macedonians* were astonish'd, and Others over-joyed, to see that in so short a time, he had got together no less than six thousand three hundred Horse fit for Service.

Now when *Craterus* and *Antipater*, having subdued *Greece*, were advanced into *Asia*, with intention to quell the Power of *Perdiccas*, and were reported to design an Impression upon *Cappadocia*; *Perdiccas* being himself to march against *Ptolemy*, made *Eumenes* Commander in chief of all the Forces of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*; and to that purpose wrote Letters, requiring *Alcetas* and *Neoptolemus* to be obedient to *Eumenes*, and giving full Commission to *Eumenes* to dispose and order all things as he thought fit. *Alcetas* flatly refused to serve, because his *Macedonians* (he said) were ashamed to fight against *Antipater*, and loved *Craterus* so well, that they were ready to receive Him for their Commander. On the other hand, it was visible that *Neoptolemus* designed Treachery against *Eumenes*, for when
he

he was summoned to appear, he refused to obey, and put himself in a posture of Defence. Here *Eumenes* first found the benefit of his own Foresight and Contrivance; for his Foot being beaten, he routed *Neoptolemus* with his Horse, and took all his Carriage; and pursuing close upon the *Phalanx* which he had broken, and disordered, obliged the Men to lay down their Arms, and take an Oath to serve under Him. *Neoptolemus*, with some few Straglers which he rallied, fled to *Craterus* and *Antipater*. *Eumenes* had just before received an Embassy from them, inviting him over to their Party, promising to secure him in the Government he was already possess'd of, and to add Others with more Forces to them, provided of an Enemy, he would become a Friend to *Antipater*, and of a Friend, would not become an Enemy to *Craterus*. To which *Eumenes* replied, *That he could not so suddenly be reconciled to his Old Enemy Antipater, especially since he saw him use his Friends like Enemies; but was ready to reconcile Craterus to Perdiccas, upon any just and equitable Terms: but if he attack'd Perdiccas, he was resolved to assist the Injured to his last Breath, and would rather lose his Life than betray his Word.*

Antipater receiving this Answer, took time to consider upon the whole Matter, and that Moment arrived *Neoptolemus*. He acquainted them with the ill Success of the Battel, and requested Both of them to assist him; but especially *Craterus*, because the *Macedonians* loved him so excessively, that if they saw but his Hat, or heard his Voice, they would all Arm and follow him. And in truth *Craterus* had a mighty Name among them, and the Soldiers, after *Alexander's* Death, were extremely fond of him, remembring how he had often, for their sakes, incurred *Alexander's* Displeasure, restrained him from following the *Persian* Fashions, to which he very much inclined, and keeping up

the Customs of his Country, when through Pride and Delicacy they began to be disregarded. *Craterus* therefore sent *Antipater* into *Cilicia*, and Himself and *Neoptolemus* marched with a great Army against *Eumenes*; expecting to come upon him unawares, and to find his Army disordered with Revelling after the late Victory. Now that *Eumenes* should suspect his coming, and be prepared to receive him, is indeed a greater (1) Argument of his Vigilance than of his Sagacity: But that he should contrive both to conceal from his Enemies the ill Posture he was in, and from his own Men (2) Whom they were to fight with, so as to make them serve against *Craterus* Himself, without knowing that He commanded the Enemy; this indeed seems to shew the peculiar Address and Talent of a great General. He gave out therefore, that it was *Neoptolemus* and *Pigris*, who with some *Cappadocian* and *Paphlagonian* Horse were coming against him; and the Night he intended to decamp, and march to meet them, he fell into a sound Sleep, and had this extraordinary Dream: He fancied he saw (3) two

(1) For to foresee the Arrival of an Enemy who had threatened him, and be in a Condition to receive him, This indeed is the Sign of great Care and Vigilance in a Commander, but not of his great Skill and Ability in his Profession, as is what follows.

(2) *Plutarch* gives this Address in *Eumenes* the Commendation it deserves; for it is certainly a Mark of a very able General, who has the Art to conceal from his own Men whatever it is for his Interest they should not know. If *Craterus* had been known, all the *Macedonians* would have gone over to him, and *Eumenes* would have been left without an Army.

This Stratagem has been practised at other times since the days of *Eumenes*, of which we meet with many Instances in History.

(3) Why two *Alexanders*? how is the first Part of this Vision to be interpreted? for Nothing is to be without its Meaning in a Dream so mysterious. The Reason for it is, that the Generals who were now going to engage had All of them commanded in *Alexander's* Army, by which means that Army came now to be divided, and was grown as it were two *Alexanders* ready to encounter each Other. The rest of this Dream is easily to be accounted for from what follows.

Alexanders

Alexanders ready to engage, each commanding his several *Phalanx*, the One assisted by *Minerva*, the Other by *Ceres*; and that after a hot dispute, He on whose side *Minerva* appeared was beaten; and *Ceres* gathering the Corn, wove it into a Crown for the Victor. This Vision *Eumenes* interpreted as boading Success to Himself, who was to fight for a fruitful Corn-Country, the whole being sowed with Corn, and the Fields so thick with it, that they made a beautiful shew of a long Peace: And he was farther confirmed in his Opinion, when he understood that the Enemy bore *Minerva* and *Alexander* in their Colours; wherefore He also bore *Ceres* and *Alexander*, and gave his Men Orders to make Garlands for themselves, and to dress their Arms with wreaths of Corn. He found himself under many temptations to discover to his Captains and Officers Whom they were to engage with, and not to conceal a Secret of such moment in his own Breast alone, yet he kept to his first Resolutions, and ventured to run the hazard of his own Judgment. When he came to give Battel, he would not trust any *Macedonian* to engage *Craterus*, but appointed two Troops of Foreign Horse, commanded by *Pharnabazus*, Son to *Artabazus*, and *Phoenix* of *Tenedos*, with Order to charge as soon as ever they saw the Enemy, without giving them leisure to speak or retire, or receiving any Herald or Trumpet from them; for he exceedingly feared the *Macedonians*, lest, knowing *Craterus*, they should go over to his side. He himself, with three hundred of his best Horse, led the right Wing against *Neoptolemus*. When the Enemy, having past a little Hill, came in view, and *Eumenes* his Men charged with more than ordinary briskness, *Craterus* was amazed, and bitterly reproached *Neoptolemus* for deceiving him, with hopes of the *Macedonians* Revolt; but he encouraged his Men to do bravely, and forthwith charged.

charged. The first Engagement was very fierce and the Spears being soon broke to pieces, they came to close fighting with their Swords: and here *Craterus* did by no means dishonour *Alexander*, but slew several of his Enemies, and repulsed divers that assaulted him; but at last received a Wound in his Side, from a *Thracian*, and fell off his Horse. Being down, Many not knowing him went over him; but *Gorgias*, one of *Eumenes's* Captains, knew him, and alighting from his Horse, guarded his Body, which was now in an ill condition, and even in the very Agony of Death. In the mean time *Neoptolemus* and *Eumenes* were engaged, who being inveterate and mortal Enemies, fought for one another, but missed for the two first Courses; but meeting in the Third, they drew their Swords, and with loud Shouts immediately charged. Their Horses running upon full speed struck against each other in Front, like two Gallies; when their Riders quitting the Bridle, took mutual Hold, and strove to pull off each the Helmet of his Enemy, and to untie his Cuirass. While they were thus stripping one another, their Horses went from under them, and they fell together to the ground, each of them keeping his Hold, and struggling like Wrestlers. *Neoptolemus* getting up first, *Eumenes* watched his Opportunity, wounded him in the Ham, and got upon his Feet before him. *Neoptolemus*, who had one of his Legs disabled by the Wound in his Ham, rested upon his Knee, and fought in that Posture with a great deal of Courage, but without being able to hurt his Enemy mortally, 'till at last receiving a Wound in his Neck, he dropt down and fainted away. *Eumenes* instantly fell upon him, began to strip him of his Armour, and bitterly reviled him, and was so transported with Rage and inveterate Malice against him, that he perceived not that his Sword was still in his Hand, wherewith he wounded

wounded him in the Groin as he lay upon him. But in truth the Wound rather frightened than hurt him, being the last weak Effort of a dying Person. Having stript the dead Body, ill as he was of the Wounds he had received in his Legs and Arms, he took Horse again, and made towards the Left Wing of his Army, which he supposed to be still engaged. Hearing of the Death of *Craterus*, he rode up to him, and finding there was yet some Life in him, he alighted from his Horse and wept; and laying his Right-hand upon him, inveighed bitterly against *Neoptolemus*, and lamented both *Craterus's* Misfortune, and his own hard Fate, that he should be necessitated to engage against an old Friend and Acquaintance, and either do or suffer so much Mischief.

This Victory *Eumenes* obtained about ten days after the former, and got a great Reputation for atchieving it, partly by his Conduct, and partly by his Valour.

But, on the contrary, it created him great Envy both among his Allies, and his Enemies, for that He, a Stranger and a Foreigner, should employ the Forces and Arms of *Macedon* to cut off one of the bravest and most considerable Men among them. Had the News of this Defeat come timely enough to *Perdiccas*, he had doubtless been the greatest of all the *Macedonians*; but now He being slain in a Mutiny in *Ægypt*, two days before the News arrived, the *Macedonians* in a rage decreed *Eumenes's* Death, giving joint Commission to *Antigonus* and *Antipater* to prosecute the War against him. In the mean time *Eumenes* meeting with the King's Stud, which were feeding upon Mount *Ida*, he took as many as he had occasion for, and sent Bills of Discharge for them to Those who had the Care of them. At This *Antipater* is said to have laughed heartily, and to say *he admired the Wariness of the Man,*

The LIFE of

Man, who seemed to think that an account of the King's Effects would either be expected from him, or given to him. Eumenes had designed to engage in the Plains of Lydia near Sardis, both because his chief Strength lay in Horse, and to let Cleopatra see how powerful he was: But at the particular Request of that Princess, who was afraid lest if he should wait there for the Enemy, it might give some Umbrage to Antipater, and make him accuse Her of maintaining a Correspondence with him, he marched into the Upper Phrygia, and Wintered at (1) Celene. There Alcetas, Polemon, and Docimus entered into a Dispute with him about the Command of the Army; whereupon he said, This makes good an old Observation, (2) Every one thinks of advancing Himself, but no one thinks on the Danger he runs of ruining All, and Himself into the Bargain.

He had promised his Soldiers that they should receive their Pay within three days, but for want of Money to make good his Promise, he sold them all the Farms and Castles in the Country, together with the Men and Cattle that were upon them. Every Captain or Officer that had bought a Farm, or Castle, took battering Engines with which he had been furnished by *Eumenes*, and

(1) This City was so called from *Celenus* the Son of *Hercules*, who was worshipped in it; or rather from the Colour of the Stones of the Country, which were all black, *κελαίνοι*, the whole Country being parched and burnt by the subterraneous Fires with which it abounded, and which caused that Part of *Phrygia* to be called *Κατακαυμένη*, the burnt *Phrygia*. It is pretended that the famous Dispute betwixt *Marsyas* and *Apollo* was managed in this City, because the River *Marsyas* runs thro'

the middle of it before it dischargeth itself into the *Meander*. *Vid. Liv. Lib. 38.* and *Casaubon's* Notes upon *Strabo, Lib. 12*, towards the End.

(2) This is a very just Reflection. A Strife and Contest betwixt Leaders, where each aims at his own particular Advantage, has often been the Ruin of their own Party, and They themselves have been ruined into the Bargain. Of which we have many Examples in History.

went

went to take Possession by Force, and when he had taken it he divided the Spoil among his Company, proportionably to every Man's Arrears. Hereby *Eumenes* came again to be beloved; so that when Letters were found thrown about the Camp by the Enemy, promising one hundred Talents, besides great Honours, to any one that should kill *Eumenes*, the *Macedonians* were extremely offended, and made an Order, that from that time forward one thousand of their best Men should continually guard his Person, and keep strict Watch about him by night in their several turns. This Order was chearfully obeyed, and they gladly received of *Eumenes* such Honours as Princes use to confer upon their Favou-rites: for he had power to bestow Purple Hats and Cloaks, which among the *Macedonians* is one of the greatest Honours the King can give. Now Prosperity has This peculiar in it, (1) it puffs up narrow Souls, makes them imagine themselves high and mighty, and look down upon the World with Contempt; but a truly noble and resolved Spirit appears greatest in Distress, and then becomes more bright and conspicuous. And This was the Case of *Eumenes*. For having by the Treason of one of his own Men, lost the Field to *Antigonus*, at *Orcyni* in *Cappadocia*, he gave the Traitor no opportunity to escape to the Enemy, but immediately seized and hanged him. Then in his Flight taking a contrary course to his Pursuers, he stole by them unawares, returned to the Place where the Battel had been fought, and encamped. There he gathered up the dead Bodies, and burnt them with the Wood taken from the Doors and Windows in the neigh-

(1) Nothing can be more just than this Observation. Prosperity quickens and gives a sort of false Courage to Men of low degenerate Minds, and dresseth them up in an outward Grandeur, which imposeth upon the Majority of Mankind, but Adversity is the Touchstone of Souls truly great and generous.

bouring Villages. The Officers were burnt apart from the common Soldiers; and after he had raised over them heaps of Earth, which served as sepulchral Monuments, he decamped, and continued his March, insomuch that *Antigonus*, who came thither soon after, was astonished at his great Courage and firm Resolution.

After This as he was upon his March, the Baggage of *Antigonus* fell in his way, and he might easily have taken many Captives, both Bond and Freeman, and much Wealth collected from the Spoils of so many Battels and Incursions; but he feared lest his Men, overladen with Booty, might become unfit for so many Marches, and through softness unwilling to hold out so long time as he designed; for upon This he laid the main stress of his Hopes, that *Antigonus* would in the long run be weary of pursuing him, and turn his Course another way. But then considering it would be extremely difficult to restrain the *Macedonians* from Plunder, when it seemed to offer itself, he ordered his Troops to halt, and bait their Horses, and then attack the Enemy. In the mean time he sent privately to *Menander*, who had care of all his Baggage, pretending a Concern for him upon the score of old Friendship and Acquaintance; and therefore advising him to quit the Plain, and insconce himself upon the side of a neighbouring Hill, where the Horse might not be able to hem him in. When *Menander*, sensible of his Danger, had trussed up his Carriage, and decamped, *Eumenes* openly sent his Scouts to discover the Enemy's posture, and commanded his Men to Arm, and Bridle their Horses, as designing immediately to give Battel; but the Scouts returning with News that *Menander* had secured himself in so difficult a Post, that it was impossible to take him, *Eumenes* pretending to be much concerned at the Disappointment, drew off his Men another way. It is said, that when
Menander

Menander reported this afterwards to *Antigonus*, and the *Macedonians* commended *Eumenes*, imputing it to his singular good-nature, that having it in his power to make Slaves of their Children, and ravish their Wives, he forbore, and spared them All, *Antigonus* should thus reply: *Alas, good Man! he had no regard to Us, but to Himself, being loth to wear so many Shackles when he designed to fly!* From that time *Eumenes* daily flying, and wandering about, persuaded divers of his Men to disband, whether out of Kindness to them, or Unwillingness to lead about such a Body of Men, as were too few to engage, and too many to fly undiscovered. Being come to the Cittadel of *Nora*, in the Confines of *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia*, with fifteen hundred Horse, and two hundred Foot well appointed, he (1) again dismiss'd as many of his Friends as desired it, through fear either of the straitness of the Place, or want of Provisions, and embracing them with all demonstrations of kindness, gave them license to depart. *Antigonus*, when he came before this Fort, desired to have an interview with *Eumenes* before the Siege; but he returned Answer, *That Antigonus had many Friends who might Command in his room, if He happened to miscarry; but They whose Defence He had undertaken, had no body to substitute in his Place; wherefore if Antigonus thought it worth while to treat with him, he should first send Hostages.* *Antigonus* insisted, and required that *Eumenes* should first come to Him, as to the greater Man; but he replied, *While I am able to wield a Sword, I shall think no Man greater than Myself.* At last, when, according to *Eumenes's* Demand, *Antigonus* had sent his own Nephew *Ptolemy* to the Fort, *Eumenes* went out to

(1) There were a Hundred who left him upon this Occasion, so that he had not above six hundred of his Men who remained with him, but All determined to share with him in whatever should befall him, and die with him.

him,

him, and they mutually embraced with great Civility and Friendship, as having formerly been very intimate. After a long Conversation, *Eumenes* making no mention of his own Pardon and Security, but demanding to be confirmed in his several Governments, and withal be honourably rewarded for his Service; All that were present were astonished at his Courage and Gallantry: and many others of the *Macedonians* flocked to see what manner of Person *Eumenes* was; for since the Death of *Craterus*, no Man had been so much talked of in the Army. But *Antigonus* being afraid for him, lest he might suffer some Violence, first commanded the Soldiers to keep off, calling out, and ordering Those to be driven back with Stones, that continued to press forwards, notwithstanding his Commands to the contrary. At last receiving *Eumenes* into his Arms, and keeping off the Crowd with his Guards, not without great difficulty, he returned him safe into the Fort. Then when he found there were no Hopes of an Accommodation, *Antigonus* built a Wall round *Nora*, and leaving a Force sufficient to carry on the Siege, he drew off the rest of his Army.

Thus *Eumenes* was closely besieged in *Nora*, which was abundantly stored with Corn, Water, and Salt; but in want of every thing else fit to eat, so that he was forced to feed upon dry bread, and yet even with that Food he kept a chearful Table for his Friends, inviting them severally in their turns, and seasoning his Entertainment with a gentle and affable behaviour; for he had a sweet Countenance, and looked not like a rough battered Soldier, but was smooth and florid, and his Shape as delicate, as if his Limbs had been carved by Art in the most accurate proportions. In Conversation he was not quick, but courteous and obliging, as appears by some of his Letters which are still extant. The
greatest

greatest distress of the Besieged, was the straitness of the place they were in, their Quarters being very narrow, and the whole place but two Furlongs in compass; so that both They and their Horses fed without Exercise. Wherefore not only to prevent the restlessness that Both might contract by that inactive way of Life, but to have them in condition to fly, if occasion required, he assigned a Room fourteen Cubits long (the largest in all the Fort) for the Men to walk in, directing them to begin their Walk gently, and so gradually mend their pace. And for the Horses, he tied them to the Roof with great Halters, which being fastened about their Necks with a Pully, he gently raised them, 'till standing upon the ground with their hinder feet, they could just reach it with the ends of their Fore-feet. In this posture the Grooms plied them with Whips and Noise, provoking them to curvet and caper, and endeavour to stand upon their Fore-feet; and thus their whole Body was exercised, 'till they were all in a foam. After this Exercise, which was very proper to give them Strength and Speed, and to render their Limbs pliant and easy, he gave them their Corn boiled, that they might sooner dispatch, and better digest it.

The Siege continuing long, *Antigonus* received advice that *Antipater* was dead in *Macedonia*, and that Affairs were embroiled by the differences between *Cassander* and *Polyperchon*; whereupon he conceived no mean hopes, but purposed to make himself Master of All; in order to which he earnestly desired to bring *Eumenes* over to his Interest, that he might have His advice and assistance. Wherefore he sent (1) *Hieronymus* with Terms of

(1) This was *Hieronymus* of those Princes who divided *Alexander's* Dominions between them, and of their Successors.

Peace, and the Form of an Oath, which was to be taken by *Eumenes*. *Eumenes* first corrected part of it, and then referred himself to the *Macedonians* Themselves that besieged him, to be judged by Them, which of the two Forms was the most equitable. *Antigonus* in the beginning of His had slightly mentioned the Royal Family, but the Sequel referred to Himself alone: Whereas *Eumenes*, in the Correction He had made, (1) named *Olympias* in the first place, and the Princes her Children, and swore not to be true to *Antigonus* only, and to have the same Friends and Enemies with Him, as contained in the Oath, drawn up by *Antigonus*, but to be true to *Olympias* and her Children, and be a Friend to their Friends, and an Enemy to their Enemies. This Form the *Macedonians* thinking the more reasonable, swore *Eumenes* accordingly, and raised the Siege, sending also to *Antigonus* for Him to swear in the same Terms with *Eumenes*. Now *Eumenes* returned all the Hostages of the *Cappadocians* which he had in *Nora*, and received in Ex-

(1) This is an Example worthy of Imitation. *Antigonus*, pushed on by his Ambition, thought of nothing less than making himself Master of *Macedonia*, to which end he was desirous of drawing *Eumenes* over to his Party, as the only Man in the World capable of promoting his Designs. Accordingly he makes him a Tender of Peace, and at the same time offers him the form of an Oath, which he exacts from him, in which indeed there is a specious mention of the Queen and her Children; but conceived in such Terms as if he intended all Their Interests should be sacrificed to his Own. *Eumenes*, who had no more than six hundred Men to depend upon, and

was very closely besieged, acted with an inviolable Fidelity, and notwithstanding a favourable Opportunity lay in his way of making himself as free and as great as he could wish, he refuseth to take the Oath *Antigonus* had prepared, and draws up Another, in which, instead of swearing that *Antigonus's* Friends should be His Friends, and the Enemies of *Antigonus* should be His Enemies; he swears that he would look on None to be his Friends or Enemies but as they were Such to *Olympias* and her Children. Whom he engaged to serve with his Life and Fortune. In This he acted like a Man of an honest disinterested Principle.

change

change Horses, Tents, and Beasts of Carriage. When This was done, he endeavoured to recall as many as he could of those Soldiers who had deserted upon his Defeat, and were wandering up and down the Country. Of These he soon got together a Body of near a thousand Horse, and retired with them in great haste, being still jealous of *Antigonus*, and That with very good Reason; for he had not only ordered him to be besieged again, but sent a very sharp Answer to the *Macedonians*, for admitting the Amendments he had made in the Oath.

Whilst *Eumenes* was upon the Flight, he received Letters from several of the most considerable Persons in *Macedonia*, who were jealous of the growing Power of *Antigonus*. He likewise received a Letter from *Olympias*, inviting him thither, to take upon him the Charge and Government of *Alexander's* little Son, whose Enemies were plotting his Destruction. He received other Letters from *Polyperchon* and King *Philip*, requiring him to make War upon *Antigonus* with all the Forces in *Cappadocia*, and empowering him to take five hundred Talents out of the Royal Treasure at *Cnydos* for his own Use, and as much more as should be thought necessary to carry on the War. They wrote also to the same effect to *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, the chief Officers of the *Argyraspides*. They having received the Letters, treated *Eumenes* with all outward shew of respect and kindness; but it was apparent enough they were full of Envy and Emulation, and thought it an Affront to be commanded by *Eumenes*. Now *Eumenes* very fairly declined their Envy, by refusing to accept the Money, as if he had not needed it; but as for their Jealousy and Ambition, which made them refuse to obey Him, though they were Themselves very unfit to command, the only Remedy he had to apply to that Evil was the Spirit of Superstition, with which he endeavoured to possess them.

He pretended that *Alexander* had appeared to him in a Dream, and shewed him a Regal Pavilion richly furnished, with a Throne in it; and told him, (1) if they would sit in Council there, He himself would be present, and prosper all the Consultations and Achievements, upon which they should enter in his name. *Antigenes* and *Teutamus* were easily prevailed upon to believe This, being no more disposed to sit in Council in His Tent, than He was to enter under the Roof of Another. Wherefore they erected a Tent-Royal, and a Throne, and called it *Alexander's*, and there they met to consult upon all Affairs of moment.

Afterwards they advanced into the upper Country, and in their March met with *Peucestas*, Friend to *Eumenes*, and with other of the Lords, who joined Forces with them, and greatly encouraged the *Macedonians* with the number and appearance of their Men. But as these New-Comers were grown very mutinous and ungovernable, through the Licentiousness in which they had indulged themselves ever since the Death of *Alexander*, and exceeding dissolute in their way of living, and withal had brought with them a Spirit of Arrogance and Tyranny, natural to the *Barbarians*, they soon grew

(1) *Diodorus Siculus* has given us a full Relation of this Particular, and there seems to be Something wanting here in the Account *Plutarch* is giving of this Vision; for in that Author he adds, For this Reason I am of Opinion that we take out of the royal Treasury a Throne of Gold, that upon this Throne we set the Diadem, the Scepter, the Crown, and all the other regal Ornaments belonging to that Prince; that every Morning all the Commanders offer him a Sacrifice; that they assemble in Council near the Throne, and that the Orders be issued in his Majesty's Name, as if

he was still living, and providing for the Welfare and Prosperity of his Kingdom. But *Plutarch* does not make *Eumenes* give this Advice, but leaves *Antigenes* and *Teutamus* to come into it by way of Consequence. Besides, it was not only this Spirit of Superstition which allayed the Jealousy and Ambition of those two Officers, but the Satisfaction they had to think that *Eumenes* was no longer, properly speaking, their Oracle and Director; but that *Alexander* was the Person whose Orders they obeyed.

unconversable and rude to one Another. Besides, they fell a caressing the *Macedonians*, flattering them out of all measure, and furnished them with Money for Feasts and Sacrifices, insomuch that in a short time the Camp grew to be a Place of Intemperance and Debauch, and instead of a sober disciplined Army, those old Soldiers the *Macedonians* seemed to have erected themselves into a sort of popular State; where Offices were to be obtained by Cabal and Bribery, as in a real Commonwealth. *Eumenes* perceiving they despised one another, but that All of them stood in Fear of Him, and sought an opportunity to kill him, pretended to be in want of Money, and took up many Talents, of Those especially who most hated him, to make them both confide in him, and forbear all Violence towards him for fear of losing their own Money. Thus his Enemies Estates were the guard of his Person, and by receiving Money, he purchased Safety, for which other Men use to give it.

Now the *Macedonians*, while there was no shew of Danger, made all their Court, and came to the Levee of Those that treated, and presented them; and They had their Guards, and affected to appear Generals. But when *Antigonus* came upon them with a great Army, and their Affairs seemed to call out for a true General, then not only the common Soldiers cast their Eyes upon *Eumenes*, but even their Leaders, who in times of Peace and Luxury had assumed so much State and Grandeur, submitted All of them to Him, and quietly posted themselves severally as he appointed them. And when *Antigonus* attempted to pass the River *Pasitygris*, not One of those Grandees who had been appointed by *Eumenes* to guard the Pass, was so much as aware of his March; only *Eumenes* met and encountered him, slew as many of his Men as filled up the River with their Carcases, and took

four thousand of them Prisoners. And when *Eumenes* was sick, then especially the *Macedonians* discovered that in their Judgment, Others could treat handsomely, and make them merry, but He alone knew how to fight and lead an Army. For *Peucestas* having made a splendid Entertainment in *Persia*, and given each of the Soldiers a Sheep wherewith to Sacrifice, flattered himself that he had by that means established his Interest among the Soldiers, and that he should be equal to the most Powerful in Authority; but soon after when the Army was upon the March in quest of the Enemy, and *Eumenes* was so dangerously ill, that he was forced to be carried in a Litter at some Distance in the Rear, that his Rest might not be disturbed by any Noise; when they were a little advanced, they all on a sudden perceived the Enemy, who had passed the Hills that lay between them, and were marching down into the Plain. Beholding therefore the glittering of their Golden Armour, which glar'd in the Sun, the good Order of their March, the Elephants with their Castles on their Backs, and the Men in their Purple (as their manner was when they were going to give Battel) the Front halted, and called out for *Eumenes*, declaring *that they would not advance a Step farther unless He were at the Head of them.* At the same time they grounded their Arms, gave the Word among Themselves to stand, and required their Officers *at their Peril not to stir or expose the Troops 'till Eumenes was come up to Command them.*

News of This being brought to *Eumenes*, he hastened Them that carried his Litter, and opening the Curtains on both sides, he put on a chearful Countenance, and held his Hand out to them. As soon as the Soldiers saw him, they saluted him in the *Macedonian* Language, and took up their Shields,

Shields, and striking them with their Pikes, gave a great shout, and dared the Enemy to come on, as if they were afraid of nothing, now they had a General to conduct them. But *Antigonus* understanding by some Prisoners he had taken, that *Eumenes* was sick, and to that degree as to be carried in a Litter behind the Rear of the Army, presumed it would be no hard matter to defeat Those who seemed to be delivered into his Hands by the Indisposition of their Commander. Wherefore he made the greater haste to come up with them, and engage. But being come so near, as to discover how the Enemy was drawn up, and appointed, he was astonished, and paused for some time; at last he saw the Litter as they were carrying it from one Wing of the Army to the Other, and (as his manner was) laughing aloud, he said to his Friends, *That Litter there, it seems, is the thing that offers us Battel*; but withal he immediately (1) founded a Retreat, and encamped.

The

(1) I wonder *Plutarch* has omitted in this Place a Circumstance related at large by *Diodorus*. After the two Armies were separated without coming to Action, they encamped about three Furlongs Distance from each other, having a River and some Ditches between them. And forasmuch as they lay under great Inconveniences in a Country that had been exhausted by the two Armies, *Antigonus* sent his Ambassadors to the *Satrapa* and *Macedonians* in the Army of *Eumenes*, to persuade them to quit *Eumenes*, and come over to Him, exhorting them to it by many magnificent Promises. But the *Macedonians* rejected these Offers with Indignation, and threatened the Ambassadors; where-

upon *Eumenes*, after he had commended them for their Fidelity, related to them this antient Fable or Apologue: Once upon a time a Lion falling in Love with a young Damsel, demanded her in Marriage of her Father. The Father made Answer that he looked on such an Alliance as a great Honour to his Family, but stood in Fear of his Paws and Teeth, lest upon any trifling Dispute that might happen between them after they were married, he might exercise them a little too hastily upon his Daughter. To remove this Objection the amorous Lion caused both his Nails and Teeth to be drawn, immediately whereupon the Father took a Cudgel, and soon got rid of his Enemy. This, continued he, is the very thing

The Macedonian were no sooner recovered out of their Fright, and began to breathe again, but they returned to their old Game of treating their Officers with Ridicule and Contempt, and playing the Masters. They grew so insolent, as to disperse themselves thro' the whole Province of the *Gabeni*, where they took up their Winter Quarters, and dispersed themselves in such a manner, that the Front was a thousand Furlongs distant from the Rear. When *Antigonus* was informed of This, he immed-

*aimed at by Antigonus, who makes
You large Promises 'till he has made
himself Master of your Forces, and
then beware of his Teeth and Paws.*

A few Days after This, *Eumenes* being informed by some Deferters, that *Antigonus* intended to decamp the Night following in the second Watch. He immediately apprehended that he design'd to remove into the Province of the *Gabeni*, a fruitful Country capable of subsisting a numerous Army, and moreover very safe, and commodious for the Troops, by reason of the many Rivers, and hollow ways that crossed it, wherefore he resolved to be before-hand with him. To this End he hired some mercenary Soldiers to desert to *Antigonus*, and tell him *Eumenes* had laid a Design to attack him in his Intrenchments as soon as it grew dark. At the same time he caused his Baggage to move, and order'd his Troops as soon as they had refreshed themselves to decamp. *Antigonus* being informed by these Deferters, that *Eumenes* intended to attack him, kept his Men in a Condition to receive him, whilst *Eumenes* proceeded on his March. *Antigonus* was soon informed by his Scouts that *Eumenes* was de-

camp'd, and tho' he perceiv'd that he was over-reach'd by his Enemy yet he continued in his first Resolution, raised his Camp, and made such haste, that his Motion looked more like a Flight than a March. But considering that it was impossible for him to come up with his whole Army, and overtake *Eumenes*, who at least had got the Start of him by two Watches, he left his Foot under the Command of *Pithon*, and proceeded upon full Speed at the Head of his Cavalry, insomuch that by day-break he came up with the Enemy's Rear, as they were marching down a Hill, upon the top of which he halted. *Eumenes*, upon Sight of the Cavalry, concluded that the whole Army was present, and drew his Forces up in order of Battel. Thus *Antigonus* turned the Tables upon *Eumenes*, and amused Him in his turn, for he hinder'd him from continuing his March 'till he was join'd by his Infantry. After This both Armies engaged, and the Action which was very sharp, was likewise remarkable for the many Turns and extraordinary Events, which well deserved to be described as they are by *Diodorus*, page 685, 686.

djately

diately marched towards them, taking the worst Way, through a Country that wanted Water (but the Way was short though uneven) hoping if he should surprize them thus scatter'd in their Winter-Quarters, the Officers would find it a difficult Matter to draw the Troops together, and be able to make Head against him. But being to pass thro' a Country uninhabited, where the Winds were bleak and boisterous, and the Frosts great, he was very much check'd in his March, and his Men exceedingly tired. The only relief in this case was making continual Fires, whereby his Enemies got notice of his coming. For the *Barbarians* who dwelt on the Mountains, bordering upon the Desert, amazed at the multitude of Fires they saw, sent Messengers upon Dromedaries, to acquaint *Peucestas* with it. He being astonish'd, and almost struck dead with the News, and finding the Rest in no less disorder, resolved to fly, and get up what Men he could by the way. But *Eumenes* delivered him from his great fear and trouble, undertaking to stop the Enemy's Career, in such a Manner, that he should arrive three Days later than he was expected. Having thus put them in Heart, he immediately dispatch'd Expresses to all the Officers, to draw the Men out of their Winter-Quarters, and Muster them with speed. In the mean time, He himself with some of the chief Officers rode out, and chose an eminent place within view of Such as travelled the Desert; which he quartered out, and commanded many Fires at different Intervals, to be made in it, to the End that They who beheld them at a Distance might take it for a real Camp. This done, and the Enemies seeing the Fire upon the Mountains, (1) Anguish and Despair seized *Antigonus*,
sup-

(1) For he had Strength suffici- | parate Quarters, but not enough to
ent to fall upon them in their se- | attack the whole Army of *Eume-*
nes,

supposing that his Enemies had been long advertised of his March, and were prepared to receive him. Wherefore left his Army, now tired and wearied out with their March, should be forced immediately to encounter with fresh Men, who had wintered well, and were ready for him, quitting the near Way, he marched slowly through the Towns and Villages, to refresh them. But meeting with no such Skirmishes as are usual, when two Armies lie near one another, and being assured by the People of the Country, that no Army had been seen, but only continual Fires in that Place, he concluded he had been outwitted by a Stratagem of *Eumenes*, and being very much troubled, (1) advanced towards him, resolving immediately to give Battel. By this time the greatest part of the Forces were come together, and admiring the great Conduct and Prudence of *Eumenes*, declared him sole Commander in chief of the whole Army. Whereat *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, Captains of the *Argyraspides*, being very much offended, and envying *Eumenes*, formed a Conspiracy against him;

nes which he concluded was formed by a Junction of all the Forces. Besides, as *Plutarch* has very well observed, he thought it a madness to go with Troops harassed by a tedious March over a desert Country, and attack an Army newly refreshed in good Quarters, and prepared to receive him.

(1) Forasmuch as all the Actions of great Men have something in them worthy of Notice, I cou'd wish *Plutarch* had not omitted in this Place a Circumstance that ought not to be forgotten. Whilst *Eumenes* waited in his Camp 'till all his Forces were come up to join him, *Antigonus* was informed that his Elephants were on the

March, and that they were not far from the Desert, wherefore he detach'd a Party of two thousand Horse, and his light-arm'd Foot to intercept them. But *Eumenes* foreseeing This, and concluding that *Antigonus* would have some such Design in his Head, had likewise made a Detachment on his Part of fifteen hundred Horse, and two thousand Foot, for their Security. This Detachment came up just as *Antigonus* his Men had fallen upon the Convoy. and almost defeated it, but this Assistance coming seasonably, repelled the Enemy, and brought all the Elephants off safe, to the Number of a Hundred and fourteen,

and

and assembling the greater part of the Lords and Officers, consulted when and how to cut him off. When they had unanimously agreed, first to abuse his Service, and make him miscarry in the next Battel, and thence take an occasion to destroy him; *Eudamus* the Master of the Elephants, and *Phadimus*, gave *Eumenes* private advice of this design; not out of kindness, or good-will to him, but lest they should lose the Money they had lent him. *Eumenes* having commended them, retired to his Tent, and telling his Friends he lived among a Herd of wild Beasts, made his Will, mangled and tore all his Letters, lest his Correspondents after his Death should be questioned or punished for the Intelligence they had given him. Having thus disposed of his Affairs, (1) he thought of letting the Enemy win the Field, or of flying through *Media* and *Armenia*, and seizing *Cappadocia*, but came to no Resolution while his Friends stayed with him. After forecasting divers things in his Mind, which his changeable Fortune made unsteady and fickle, (2) he at last put his Men in Array, and encouraged the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*; as for the *Argyraspides*, They encouraged Him, and bid him be of good Heart, for the Enemy would never be able to stand them. For indeed they

(1) How little the Man looks on this Occasion! The most extravagant and even dishonourable Expedients occur to the Thoughts of the bravest Man alive, when he finds himself in a Condition like That of *Eumenes*, betray'd by his own Party, and threatened with an approaching Death. This is a sort of Tribute due to the Infirmities of human Nature, always shrinking at the first Attack, but Virtue and Honour after a short Recollection get the Start, and Life itself is sacrificed to Glory.

(2) The Order of Battel observed by *Eumenes*, and *Antigonus*, on this Occasion, such as it is described by *Diodorus Siculus*, p. 692, 693, might possibly have deserved a Place here. The Army of *Antigonus* consisted of twenty two thousand Foot, nine thousand Horse, with some *Median* Cavalry, and Sixty five Elephants. *Eumenes* had in his Army thirty six thousand seven hundred Foot, six thousand and fifty Horse, and a hundred and fourteen Elephants.

were

were the oldest of all the Troops that had served under *Philip* and *Alexander*; tried Men, that had long made a Trade of War, and had never been beaten or so much as foil'd, most of them seventy, none less than sixty Years old. Wherefore when they charged *Antigonus* his Men, they cried out, *You fight against your Fathers, you Rascals*; and furiously falling on, they routed the Infantry, killing great Numbers of them upon the Spot, so that here *Antigonus* was totally defeated. But on the other side his Cavalry had all the Advantage that could be desired, through the Cowardice of *Peucestas*, who behaved himself most shamefully in that Action, performing neither the Duty of an Officer nor Soldier; insomuch that *Antigonus* made himself Master of all the Baggage, as much by his good Sense and Presence of Mind, which never fail'd him in the greatest Danger, as by the Situation and Nature of the Place, which was of great Advantage to him, for it was a plain open Country, of a Soil neither deep, nor hard under Foot, but like the Sea Shore, covered with a fine soft Sand, which the treading of so many Men and Horses, in the time of the Battel, reduced to a small white dust, that like a Cloud of Lime darkned the Air, so that one could not see clearly at any distance, and so made it easy for *Antigonus* to take the Carriage unperceived.

After the Battel, *Teutamus* sent a Message to *Antigonus* to demand the Baggage. He made Answer, He would not only restore it to the *Argyraspides*, but serve them farther in other things, if they would surrender *Eumenes*. Whereupon the *Argyraspides* made a villanous Resolution, to deliver up this great Man alive into the hands of his Enemies. So they came to wait upon him, being unsuspected by him, but watching their opportunity, Some lamenting the loss of the Baggage, Some encouraging

couraging him as if he had been Victor, Some accusing the Grandees, and other Officers, to Whom they said it was owing that their Victory was not so compleat as it ought to have been, they all at last fell upon him, and seizing his Sword, bound his Hands behind him with his own Girdle. When *Antigonus* had sent *Nicanor* to receive him, he begged he might be led thro' the Body of the *Macedonians*, and have liberty to speak to them, not to request, or deprecate any thing, but only to advise them what would be for their Interest. A Silence being made, as he stood upon a rising Ground, he stretched out his hands bound, and said, *What Trophy, O ye basest of all the Macedonians, could Antigonus have wished for, so great as You your selves have erected to him, in delivering up your General Captive into his hands? How vile is it when you were Conquerors, to own your selves conquered, for the sake only of your Baggage, as if it were Wealth, not Arms, wherein Victory consisted? Nay, you deliver up your General to redeem your Lumber. As for Me, I am unvanquished, though Captive, Conqueror of my Enemies, and betrayed by my Fellow-Soldiers. For You, I adjure you by Jupiter, the Protector of Arms, and by all the Gods that are the Avengers of Perjury, to kill me here with your own hands; for whether I fall by You, or by Antigonus, You only will be guilty of my Death: nor will Antigonus complain; for he desires not Eumenes alive, but dead. If ye would withhold your own hands, release but one of mine, it shall suffice to do the Work; but if you dare not trust me with a Sword, throw me bound as I am to wild Beasts. This if you do, I shall freely acquit you*

(1) How cou'd that be, since *Plutarch* tells us just before that his Hands were tied behind him? Perhaps something is wanting in the Text. *Justin* saith, that his Bands

were loosened: *Facto Silentio, laxatisque Vinculis, prolatam sicut catenatus erat, ostendit manum.* xiv. 4.

from

from (1) the guilt of my Death, and declare You the most Just and Faithful of Soldiers to your General, While Eumenes was thus speaking, the rest of the Soldiers wept for Grief; but the *Argyraspides* with a loud Voice insisted to lead him on, without listening to his Impertinences: for the Ruin of a vile vagabond Chersonesian, who has wasted the Macedonians in so many desperate Actions, is not to be regretted; but the Case of those brave Soldiers, who served under Philip, and Alexander, would be deplorable, if after so many tiresome Marches, and hazardous Engagements, they should be deprived of the Fruits of so long Service, and be reduced in their old Age to beg their Bread. Alas! our Wives have been now three Nights in the Power of our Enemies! So they push'd him on with all Speed and Violence. But Antigonus fearing the Multitude, (for nobody was left in the Camp) sent ten of his strongest Elephants with divers of his Mede and Parthyeæan Lances to keep off the Croud.

When Eumenes was conducted into the Camp, he could not be prevailed upon to see him, or suffer him to be brought into his Presence, by reason of their former Intimacy and Friendship; and when They who had him in Custody, enquired of Antigonus how he would have him kept? As I would (said he) an Elephant or a Lion. A little after, being moved with Compassion, he commanded the heaviest of his Irons to be knock'd off, one of his Menial Servants to be admitted to anoint him, and that any of his Friends who desired it, should have liberty to visit him, and bring him what he wanted. Long time he deliberated what to do with him, sometimes inclining to the Advice and Promises of Nearchus of Crete, and Demetrius his

(1) This was spoken according to the erroneous Sentiments of the Heathens, who believed that if They who suffered unjustly were appeased, and forgave Those who were the Authors of it, the Gods were satisfied, and forgave them too.

Son, who were very earnest to preserve *Eumenes*, whilst all the rest were unanimously instant and importunate to have him taken off. It is reported, that *Eumenes* should enquire of *Onomarchus* his Keeper, why *Antigonus*, now he had his Enemy in his hands, would not either forthwith dispatch or generously release him? And that *Onomarchus* contumeliously answered him, That the Field had been a more proper Place than This for him to have shewn his Contempt of Death. To whom *Eumenes* reply'd, And by Jupiter I shew'd it there; I appeal to the Men that engaged me; but I could never meet a Man that was too hard for me. Therefore (rejoin'd *Onomarchus*) now you have found such a Man, why don't you submit quietly to his Pleasure? When *Antigonus* had at last resolv'd to kill *Eumenes*, he commanded his Keepers to allow him no more Sustainance, so that after he had fasted two or three days, he began to draw near his End: But the Camp being on some sudden Alarm obliged to remove, an Executioner was sent to dispatch him. *Antigonus* granted his Body to his Friends, and permitted them to burn it, and having gathered his Ashes into a Silver Urn, he allowed them to send it to his Wife and Children.

Eumenes being thus taken off, the incensed Deities committed the Punishment of those Officers and Soldiers, who had perpetrated so horrid a Crime, to no one but *Antigonus* Himself, who abominating the *Argyraspides* as wicked and inhumane Villains, delivered them up to (1) *Ibyrtius*, Procurator of *Arachosia*, commanding him by all ways and means to confound and destroy them, so that not a Man of them might ever come to *Macedon*, or so much as within sight of the Greek Sea.

(1) He did not deliver up *Antigenes* to be punished by *Ibyrtius*, for he order'd Him to be cast into a Dungeon, and burnt alive. He likewise put *Eudemus*, *Celbanus*, and some Others to Death. Thus

Divine Justice was pleased, that those Wretches, who had been guilty of so horrible a Crime, should be punished in the Presence of the very Troops that had been Witnesses of their Perfidy.

T H E



THE
LIFE
OF
QUINTUS SERTORIUS.

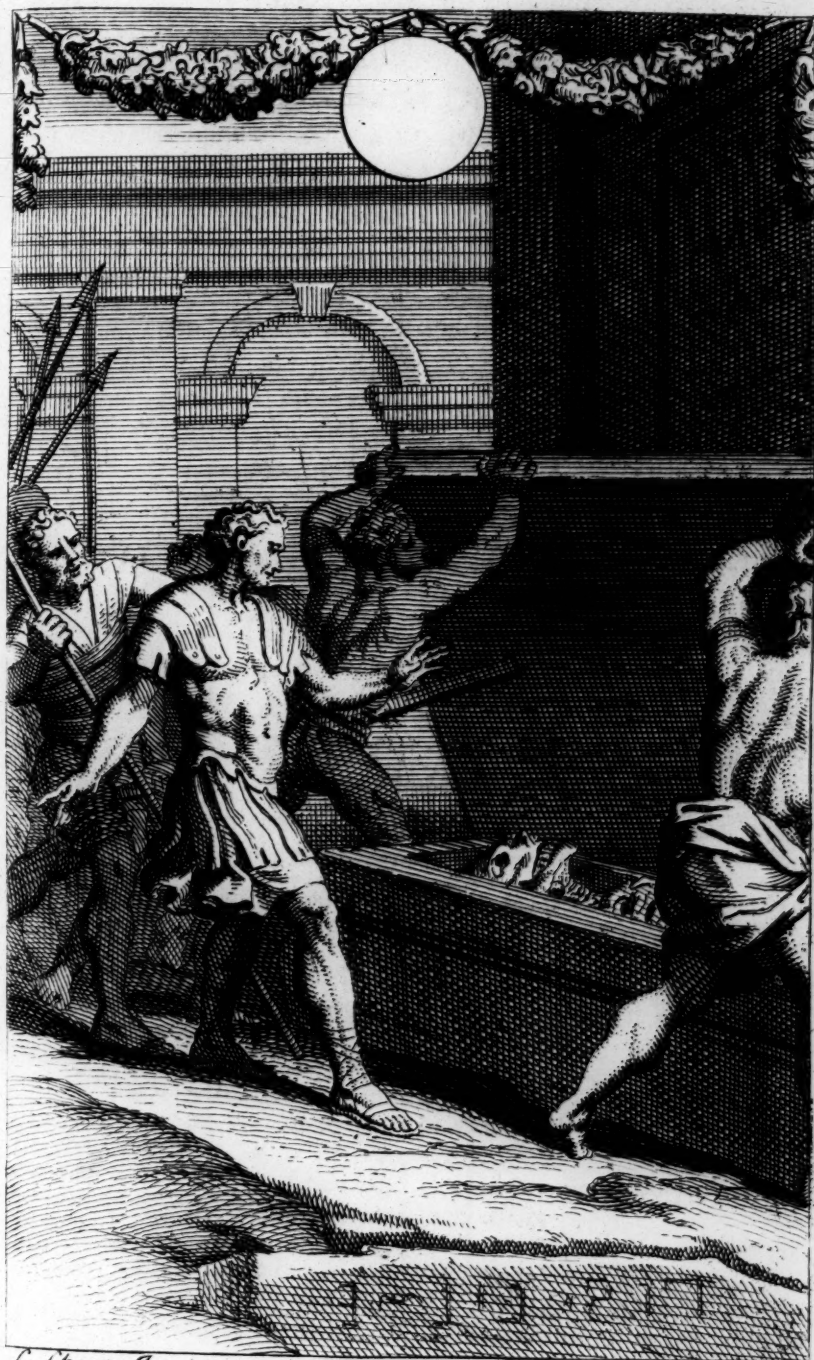


It is no great wonder, if in long process of time, the Wheel of Fortune running variously hither and thither through the Universe, shall happen to fall divers times into the same Trace, and the like Occurrences be often produced; and if the number of Subjects to be wrought upon be (1) infinite, Fortune being supplied with Matter sufficiently copious, may more easily produce this remarkable Likeness in human Affairs: Or if otherwise all things be composed and framed out of a finite and limited number of Events; when these have all appeared, the Same of necessity must again

(1) That cannot be, for it is impossible for Infinity to be in That which is finite. And yet tho' the Number of Events be not infinite, This does not, as *Plutarch* very well observeth afterwards, hinder For-

tune from bringing frequently the same Accidents back again upon the Stage, and representing the same Events. Of This History furnisheth us with many Examples.

come



L. Cheron Inv.

Vol. 5. p. 160.

G. V. Gucht. Sculp. 32.



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come to pass ; the Series, and whole Course of Accidents having already been run through. Now Some, being delighted with such Casualties as exactly resemble one another, make Historical Collections of such fortuitous Occurrences as they have heard, or read of; and observing some Fatality therein, represent them as the Works of a rational pre-determinating Power and Providence. Thus they observe, that of two eminent Persons, (1) both whose Names were *Attis*, Both Nobly born, and of most Illustrious Families, the One of *Syria*, the Other of *Arcadia*, Both of them were slain by a Wild-Boar; that of two Noblemen, (2) both whose Names were *Actæon*, the One was torn in pieces by his Dogs, the Other by his Lovers; that of two famous *Scipio's*, the One overthrew the *Carthaginians*, the Other totally ruin'd and destroyed them; the City of *Troy* was the first time taken by *Hercules*, for the Horses promis'd to be given him by *Laomedon*; the second time by *Agamemnon*, by means of the celebrated great wooden Horse; and the third time by *Charidemus*, by occasion of a Horse falling down at the Gate, which hindered the *Trojans*, so as they could not shut them soon enough; and of two Cities which take their Names from most delightful odoriferous Plants, *Jos* and *Smyrna*, the One from a Violet, the Other from Myrrh, the Poet *Homer* is reported to have been born in the One, and to have died in the O-

(1) In *Pausanias's Achaicks*, we read that a Person called *Attis*, or *Attes*, the Son of *Calais* the *Phrygian*, lying under a natural Incapacity of having Children, went into *Lydia*, where he instructed the People in the Rites and Ceremonies peculiar to the Mother of the Gods, and that he became so beloved, and honoured by that Goddess, that *Jupiter* provok'd at it sent a fright-

ful Boar into *Lydia*, that ravaged all their Fields, slew many of the *Lydians*, and among them *Attis* Himself. But I am a perfect Stranger to the History of the Second *Attis*.

(2) *Actæon*, the Son of *Aristeus*, was torn in Pieces by his own Dogs, as was *Actæon* the Son of *Melissus* by the Bacchanals, as the Reader may find in the Scholiast upon *Apollonius*, lib. iv.

ther. To these Remarks, if it may be permitted we may farther observe, that the most warlike Commanders, who have perform'd the greatest Exploits, and carried on the most notable Stratagems by their Courage and Skill in Martial Affairs, have had but one Eye; as, *Philip*, *Antigonus*, and *Hannibal*, and *Sertorius* also, whose Life and Actions we describe at present, and who far surpassed the Other in all noble Virtues; for we may give this true Report of him, That he was more Temperate, Sober, and Continent than *Philip*, more Faithful to his Friend than *Antigonus*, and more Merciful and Courteous to his Enemies than *Hannibal*: for Prudence, Wisdom, and Judgment, he gave place to None of them; but in Fortune was inferior to them All, who though she was every way more severe and cruel to Him than to all his Illustrious Enemies, yet for Skill and Experience in War he made himself equal to *Metellus*; for bold Attempts, Valour, and Bravery, he might compare with *Pompey*; and in Success, he no ways yielded to *Sylla*; and for Power and Force he made himself a Match for the whole *Roman* Empire, and fought gloriously against the united Arms of *Rome*, when he was a banished Man, and a Stranger amongst barbarous People.

Of all the *Grecian* Commanders, *Eumenes* of *Caridia* may be best compared with him; for they were Both of them great Generals, Both Valiant and Politick Commanders, making use of Deceit, intricate Designs, and cunning Stratagems in War; they were Both Aliens and Strangers, banished from their Countries, and had the Command of Foreign Forces; Both had Fortune for their Adversary, and so extravagantly injurious to them in the end, that they were Both betrayed, and villainously murdered by Those who served them, and by Whom they had formerly overcome their Enemies.

Quintus

Quintus Sertorius was of a noble Family, born in the City of *Nursia*, in the Country of the *Sabines*. His Father died when he was young, but he was carefully and decently educated by his Mother, whose Name was *Rhea*, and whom he extremely loved and honoured. He exercised himself in Oratory and Pleading in his Youth, which he performed so judiciously, that he acquired no small Reputation and Power in *Rome* by the Force of his Eloquence: But the Splendor of his glorious Actions in Arms, and his successful Atchievements in the Wars, induced him to alter his Ambition, and to seek for Honour wholly in martial Affairs. At his first entering the Field, he served under (1) *Scipio*, when the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* invaded *Gaul*; where, the *Romans* fighting unfortunately, and being put to flight, he was wounded in many Parts of his Body, and thrown from his Horse, yet nevertheless he swam cross the River *Rhosne* in his Armour, with his Breast-plate and Shield, bearing himself up against one of the swiftest Rivers in the World, and breaking through its furious Waves by clear Strength; so strong a Body he had, so inur'd to Hardship, and by long Exercise brought to endure all Labour.

The second time that the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* came down with Armies still more numerous than the former, threatening Death and Destruction to All, when it was no small piece of Service for a *Roman* Soldier to keep his Rank, and obey his Commander, (2) *Sertorius* undertook to view the
Enc-

(1) I am of Opinion it ought to be *Capio* instead of *Scipio*. It must be under the Proconsul *Q. Servilius Capio*, who with the Consul *Cn. Mallius* was overthrown by the *Cimbri* in the fourth Year of the hundred and sixty eighth Olympiad, a hundred and three Years before the Incarnation.

(2) The *Romans* did not entertain the same Notion of a Spy as we do among Us. Persons of the first Rank voluntarily undertook that Office, considering it as so much

Enemy's Camp, and to discover their utmost Forces and Designs; and to this Intent having learned the manner of their Salutations, and the ordinary Expressions of their Language, he threw himself in amongst the *Barbarians*, dressed in the Habit of a *Celtick Gaul*, where having carefully seen with his own Eyes, or having been fully informed by Persons upon the Place, of all their most important Concerns, and Affairs of greatest Moment, he returned to *Marius*, General of the *Roman Army*, from whose hands he received the honourable Rewards of his Valour: And afterwards giving frequent Demonstrations both of his Conduct and Courage in all the following War, he was advanced to Places of Honour and Trust under his General, who highly esteemed and confided in him.

After the Wars with the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, he was sent into *Spain*, having the Command of a thousand Men, under *Didius* the *Roman General*, and wintered in the Country of the *Celtiberians*, in the City of *Castulo*, where the Soldiers enjoying great plenty of all things, grew insolent, and continually drinking, the Inhabitants despised them, and sent for aid by Night to the *Gyrisenians* their near Neighbours, who fell upon the *Romans* in their Lodgings, and slew a great Number of them; but *Sextorius* being alarm'd withdrew out of the City with a few of his Soldiers, and rallying together the rest who had slipp'd out, he march'd round about the Walls, and finding the Gate open, by

much the more glorious as it was more dangerous. On this Account *Sertorius*, who had already acquired great Reputation in the Army, offered himself to that Service. This Commission was more courted among the *Grecians*, and esteemed more honourable, as may be seen in the tenth Book of the *Iliad*,

where *Ulysses* and *Diomedes* go as Spies into the Camp of the *Trojans*, and a Contest arises among the other Princes and Generals who shall accompany them. We find likewise in Holy Scripture that *Gideon* conveys himself as a Spy into the Camp of the *Midianites*.

which the *Gyrifanians* privately entring had set upon the *Romans*, he gave not them the same Opportunity, but placing a Guard at the Gate, and seizing upon all the Quarters of the City, he slew Those who were of Age to bear Arms; and then ordering his Soldiers to lay aside their Weapons, and put off their own Cloaths, and put on the Acoutrements of the *Barbarians*, he commanded them to follow him to the City, from whence Those were sent who fell upon the *Romans* by Night, and deceiving the *Gyrifanians* with the Sight of their own Armour and Equipage, he found the Gates of their City open, and took great Numbers of them Prisoners, who came out, thinking to meet their Friends and Fellow-Citizens, coming from the Performance of a worthy piece of Service. Many also were slain by the *Romans* at their own Gates, and the rest within yielded up themselves, and were sold for Slaves.

This Action made *Sertorius* to be highly renowned throughout all *Spain*; and as soon as he returned to *Rome*, he was constituted Treasurer-General of *Gallia Cisalpina* on both sides of the River *Po*, very advantageously for the *Roman* Affairs at that time; for the War with the *Marfi* being unanimously resolved upon, *Sertorius* was ordered to raise Soldiers, and provide Arms, which he performed with such Diligence, Speed, and Alacrity, contrary to the languishing feebleness and slothfulness of his Companions, that he got the repute of a Man of Life and Spirit in Business; nor did he any ways desist from his Military Boldness and Bravery, when he arrived at the Dignity of a great Commander, but performed Wonders with his own hands, and never sparing himself, but exposing his Body freely in all Conflicts, he lost one of his Eyes, which was cut out of his Head, and yet he continued to have a chearful Look, and always esteemed

it as an honour to him: For Others do not continually carry about with them the Marks and Testimonies of their Valour, but often lay aside their Chains of Gold, their Spears and Crowns; whereas His Ensigns of Honour, and the Manifestations of his noble Courage always remained with him, and Those who beheld his Scars and Misfortunes, admired at the same time his undaunted Prowess and Magnanimity. The People also paid him due Respect, and honoured him suitably to his Merit; and when he came into the Theater, they applauded him, and received him with clapping their Hands, beating their Feet against the Seats, and with joyful Acclamations; which sort of Applause was not easily obtained, even by Persons who were more venerable in respect of their Age, and of greater Dignity in the Commonwealth.

Notwithstanding this Popularity, when he stood to be Tribune of the People, he was disappointed, and lost the Place, being opposed by a Party stirred up by *Sylla*, which seems to be the principal cause of their inveterate irreconcilable hatred.

After that *Marius* was overcome by *Sylla*, and fled into *Africa*, and that *Sylla* had left *Italy* to go to the Wars against *Mithridates*, of the two Consuls, *Octavius* and *Cinna*, *Octavius* remained steadfast to the Designs of *Sylla*, but *Cinna* (affecting Innovations) attempted to recall the lost Interest of *Marius*, and to set up a Party again that was declined and trodden under Foot; *Sertorius* adhered to *Cinna*, perceiving that *Octavius* was somewhat heavy, could not distinguish of the worth of a Man, and was also suspicious of any one that was a Friend to *Marius*.

When the Battel was fought between the two Consuls in the Market-place, *Octavius* overcame, and *Cinna* and *Sertorius* having lost no less than ten thousand Men, left the City; but persuading the
Soldiers,

Soldiers, who were dispersed about, and gaining Those who remained still in many parts of *Italy*, they united their Forces, and in a short time mustered up a Party against *Octavius*, sufficient to give him Battel again; and *Marius* coming by Sea out of *Africa*, proffered to serve *Cinna*, as a private Soldier under his Consul and Commander.

Most were for the speedy Reception of *Marius*, but *Sertorius* openly declared against it; and whether he thought that *Cinna* did not herein consult his own Interest, and that his Greatness would be diminished by the presence of a Person of greater Splendor and Authority, or whether he feared that the Violence of *Marius* would bring all things to Confusion, and that by his boundless Wrath and Vengeance after Victory, he would go beyond all the Rules and Limits of Justice, he insisted upon it with *Cinna*, alledging that they were already Victorious, that there remained little to be done, and that if they admitted *Marius*, he would not only deprive them of the Glory and Advantage of the War, but would also prove a very uneasy and unfaithful Sharer in the Government. To which *Cinna* answered, *That he had rightly computed these Affairs, but that he Himself was at a loss, and ashamed, and knew not how to reject Him, whom he sent for, to be Partner in all his Concerns:* To which *Sertorius* replied, *I thought Marius came into Italy of his own accord, and therefore I advised You to what I thought might be most expedient. But it is not fair for You (1) so much as to doubt whether You should admit him, after you have vouchsafed to invite him. You are by so doing under an Obligation of receiving him with Honour, and ought to accept of his*

(1) They that can deliberate and are in danger of being too weak for the Temptation. *Qui deliberant deservunt, scilicet Tacitus.*

Service; for Your Word once passed, leaves no room for debate, (1) and Your Promise being sacred, ought never to be disputed.

Marius being sent for by *Cinna*, and their Forces divided into three Parts, under *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Sertorius*, the War was carried on successfully; but Those about *Cinna* and *Marius* committing all manner of Insolence, Severity and Rapine, made it evident to the *Romans*, that the Original and chief Inducement to these Wars was Booty and Plunder; but on the contrary it is reported of *Sertorius*, that he never slew Man in his Anger, to satisfy his own private Revenge, nor insulted any one whom he had overcome, but was much offended with the inhuman Rigour of *Marius*, and would often converse privately with *Cinna*, and intreat him to mitigate his Fury, and to use his Power more moderately. In the end, when the Slaves whom *Marius* had freed at his landing, to increase his Army, and had made not only his Fellow-Soldiers in the War, but also his Guard and the Executioners of his Tyrannical Cruelty, became strong and numerous; and either by the Command, or Permission of *Marius*, had, contrary to all Law, forcibly oppressed their Masters, slain their Lords, ravished their Ladies, and forced and abused their Children; their Crimes appeared so intolerable to *Sertorius*, that he slew no less than four thousand of them upon the Place; commanding his Soldiers to strike their Darts through the Bodies of them All as they lay encamped together.

Afterwards when *Marius* was dead, and *Cinna* was slain, when the younger *Marius* had usurped the

(1) This is most certain. An honest Man's Word once given, ought to be kept inviolably, without any Wavering or Hesitation. This Answer and Decision of *Sertorius* tends very much to his Honour, especially when we consider that the Remonstrances he had just before been making to *Cinna* were just, and wellgrounded.

supreme Authority, and made himself Consul against the Mind of *Sertorius*, and the known Laws of *Rome*; when *Carbo*, *Norbanus* and *Scipio* had fought unsuccessfully, and made but small resistance against the fortunate Arms of *Sylla*, who was returning victoriously from the Wars with *Mitbridates* and *Fimbria*; when much was lost by the Softness and effeminate Remissness of the Commanders, but more destroyed by the Treachery of their own Party; when their Affairs were so miserably shattered and born down, that they were not able to be supported even by the Presence of *Sertorius*, and that he was able to do little, by reason that Those who had the greatest Command and Authority were Persons of no great Prudence or Conduct; in the end, when *Sylla* had placed his Camp near to *Scipio*, and by pretending Friendship, and putting him in hopes of a good Peace, had corrupted his Army; and *Scipio* could not be made sensible thereof, although often foretold and forewarned of it by *Sertorius*; he utterly despaired of the Prosperity of *Rome*, and made haste into *Spain*; that by taking Possession thereof beforehand, he might establish his Power in a Country, which would be a Refuge to his Friends, and a Support to his declining Party. But having bad Weather in his Journey, and travelling through mountainous Countries, and the Inhabitants stopping him by the way, and demanding a Toll, and Money for his Passage, Those who were with him were out of all Patience; and highly aggravating in their Discourses, the Indignity and Shame it would be for a Pro-Consul of *Rome* to pay Tribute to a Crew of wretched *Barbarians*, he little regarded their Censure, but slighting That which had only the Appearance of an Undecency, told them, *he must buy Time, the most precious of all things to Those who go upon great Enterprizes*; and pacifying the barbarous People with Money, he hastened

hastened his Journey, and took Possession of *Spain*, a Country flourishing and populous, abounding with young Men fit to bear Arms; but by reason of the Insolency and Covetousness of the Commanders, sent thither yearly from *Rome*, they had generally an Aversion to the *Roman* Discipline; and were very ill prepar'd to receive any sort of Government. But He soon gain'd the Affection of the Nobility, by his Civilities and free Conversation amongst them, and got the good Opinion of the People by remitting their Taxes. But That which made him generally belov'd, and win the Hearts of All, was his exempting them from finding Lodgings for the Soldiers; for he commanded his Army to take up their Winter-Quarters without the Cities, and to pitch their Tents in the Fields; and He himself, first of all, caus'd his own Pavilion to be rais'd without the Walls; yet not being willing to rely totally upon the good Inclination of the Inhabitants, he arm'd all the *Romans* who liv'd in those Countries, that were of Age, and undertook the building of Ships, and the making of all sorts of Warlike Engines, by which Means he kept the Cities in due Obedience, being affable and courteous in time of Peace, and appearing formidable to his Enemies, by reason of his great Preparations for War.

As soon as he was inform'd that *Sylla* had made himself Master of *Rome*, and that the Party which sided with *Marius* and *Carbo* was utterly destroy'd, he expected that some great Commander with a considerable Army would speedily come against Him, and therefore sent away *Julius Salinator* immediately with six thousand Men well arm'd, to guard the Mountains, and to fortify and defend the narrow Passages of the *Pyrenees*; and *Caius Annius* not long after being sent out by *Sylla*, finding that *Julius Salinator* could not be approach'd to, and that

his

his Camp was impregnable by reason of its Situation, and not to be forc'd by any Assault, he sat down short at the Foot of the Mountains in great Perplexity; but *Calpurnius Lanarius* having treacherously slain *Julius Salinator*, and his Forces, astonish'd at this Accident, forsaking the Tops of the *Pyrenees*, *Caius Annius* came forward with a great Army, and pass'd over the Mountains, and forced Those from their Stations who endeavour'd to hinder his March; *Sertorius* also not being strong enough to give him Battel, retreated with three thousand Men into *New Carthage*, where he took Shipping, and cross'd the Seas into *Africa*, and coming near to the Coast of *Mauritania*, his Men went on Shoar to water; and stragling about negligently, the *Africans* fell upon them, and flew a great Number. This new Misfortune forced him to sail back again into *Spain*, from whence he was also repuls'd; but the *Cilician* Pirates joining with him, they made for the Island of * *Pityusa*, where they landed, * *Yvica*. and over-power'd the Garrison placed therein by *Caius Annius*, who also came thither not long after with a great Fleet of Ships, and five thousand Soldiers, and *Sertorius* made ready to fight him by Sea, although his Ships were not built for Strength, but for Lightness and swift Sailing; but a violent West-wind rais'd such a Storm at Sea, that many of *Sertorius's* Ships were run on Ground, and shipwreck'd all along the rocky Shoars, and He himself with a few Vessels, being kept from putting further out by the Storms and Fury of the Weather, and hindered from landing by the Power of his Enemies, was toss'd about for ten Days together, and the Seas running high, and the Waves being boisterous and violent, he escap'd with great Difficulty, and after the Wind ceas'd, ran into certain desolate Islands scatter'd about in those Seas, affording no Water; from whence making out to Sea again, he pass'd

pass'd the Streights of *Cadiz*, between the Pillars of *Hercules*, and sailing outward, keeping the *Spanish* Shoar on his Right-hand, he landed a little above the Mouth of the River *Betis*, where it falls into the *Atlantick* Sea, and gives the Name to all that Part of *Spain*. Here he met with Sea-men, newly arriv'd from two Islands in the *Atlantick*, which are divided from one another, only by a narrow Channel, and are distant from the Coast of *Africa* ten thousand Furlongs; (1) These are called *The fortunate Islands*, (2) where the Rain falls seldom, and then in moderate Showers, but for the most part they have gentle Breezes, bringing along with them soft Dews, which render the Soil not only fat, and fit to be plow'd, and planted; but so abundantly fruitful, that it produces, of its own accord, Plants and Fruits for Plenty and Delicacy, sufficient to feed and delight the Inhabitants, who may here enjoy

(1) *Plutarch* took these Islands to be the happy Region, where *Homer* placed his *Elysium*; but it appears plainly from *Strabo*, that those *Elysian* Fields lay in *Batica* or *Andalusia*, and that they were not called the fortunate Islands any otherwise than as they belonged to the Inhabitants of *Andalusia*.

(2) All This agrees exactly with *Homer's* Description in the fourth Book of the *Odyssey*, by which it appears that he had made himself well acquainted with the Western Coast of *Spain*.

Elysium shall be Thine; the blissful Plains

Of utmost Earth, where Rhadamanthus reigns.

Foys ever young, unmix'd with Pain or Fear,

Fill the wide Circle of th' eternal Year.

Stern Winter smiles on that auspicious Clime,

The Fields are florid with unfading Prime:

From the bleak Pole no Winds inclement blow,

Mold the round Hail, or flake the fleecy Snow;

But from the breezy Deep the Blest inhale

The fragrant Murmurs of the Western Gale.

And the following Words from *Justin* may serve as a Comment both upon *Plutarch* and *Homer*. *Salubritas Cœli per omnem Hispaniam equalis, quia aërii Spiritus nulla Paludium gravi nebulâ inficitur. Huc accedunt, & marina Aura undique versus assidui flatus, quibus omnem Provinciam penetrantibus eventilato terrestri Spiritu præcipua hominibus sanitas redditur.*

all

all things without Trouble or Labour. The Seasons of the Year are temperate, and the Alteration from Quarter to Quarter so moderate, that the Air for the most part is serene and refreshing, and the Weather generally fair and pleasant. The rough Northerly and Eastern Winds, which blow towards these Islands from the Coasts of *Europe* and *Africa*, are divided and dissipated by reason of the vast Distance, and utterly lose their Force long before they reach these Parts. The soft Western and Southerly Winds which breathe upon them, do sometimes produce gentle sprinkling Showers, but for the most part they calmly impregnate the Earth only with the fruitful Dews, and the nourishing Moisture of the Air, which they bring along with them from the Sea; so that it is firmly believ'd, even by the barbarous People Themselves, that this is the Seat of the Blessed, and that These are the *Elysian* Fields highly celebrated by *Homer*.

As soon as *Sertorius* heard this Account, he was seiz'd with a wonderful Affection for these Islands, and had an extreme Desire to live there in Peace and Quietness, far from the Noise of Wars, and free from the Troubles of Government; but his Inclinations being perceived by the *Cilician* Pirates, who desire neither Peace nor Quiet, but rove after Riches and Spoils, they immediately forsook him, and sailed away into *Africa*, to assist *Ascalis* the Son of *Iptha*, and to help to re-establish him in the Throne of his Father, and to restore him to his Kingdom of *Mauritania*.

The sudden departure of the *Cilicians* did no ways discourage *Sertorius*, or cause him to desist from further Attempts; for he presently resolved to assist the Enemies of *Ascalis*, and by this new Adventure kept his Soldiers together, who from hence conceived new Hopes of their future Prosperity, and began to have a better Prospect of their Affairs.

His

The LIFE of

His Arrival in *Mauritania* being very acceptable to the *Moors*, he lost no time, but immediately giving Battel to *Ascalis*, beat him out of the Field, and besieged him; and *Pacciacus* being sent by *Sylla* with a powerful Supply to raise the Siege, *Sertorius* slew him in the Field, and overthrew all his Forces, with this great Advantage, that he not only took the whole *Roman* Army Prisoners, but also forced the City of *Tingis*, where *Ascalis* and his Brothers were fled for Refuge. The *Africans* report that *Anteus* was buried in this City, a Giant of a wonderful Stature, but *Sertorius* being unwilling to trust common Fame, which gave out that his Body was of a most prodigious Length, caused his Sepulchre to be opened, and finding that his Corps was effectually full (1) threescore Cubits long, he was infinitely astonished, and immediately offered up Sacrifice to the Gods, and closed up the Tomb again, whereby he confirmed the Report of the Inhabitants, increased the Fame of the Sepulchre, and added new Honours to the Memory of *Anteus*. The *Africans* further alledge, that after the Death of *Anteus*, his Wife *Tinga* lived with *Hercules*, and had a Son by him called *Sophax*, who was King of these Countries, and gave his Mother's Name to this City; whose Son also was *Diodorus*, a great Conqueror, who subdued many other Regions, and brought the

(1) This indeed is a monstrous Size; and tho' it may seem ridiculous to endeavour to reduce Fiction to Reason, yet I cannot but think there may have been some Mistake in the Numerical Letter; and I the rather think so, because in the Descriptions of Giants which occur in Holy Scripture, the Bed of *Og* King of *Basan* who was One of them, measured but Nine Cubits in Length, and Four in Breadth, and *Goliath* was but Six Cubits and

a Span high; what therefore are we to think of. One of Sixty Cubits? *Homer* tells us *Polyphemus* was as tall as the highest Mountain; but we know what Allowances are to be made in Poetick Hyperboles. *Strabo* it is true in his last Book allows this *Anteus* to be Sixty Cubits high; but we are to understand at the same time that it is a Fable published among many Others by *Gabinus* in his *Roman* History.

greatest

greatest Part of *Africa* under his Subjection with an Army of *Greeks*, which he raised out of the Colonies of the *Olbianians* and *Myceneans*, placed here by *Hercules*. I mention these Passages for the sake of King *Juba*, the most excellent Historian of any Prince that ever yet hath honoured History with his own Pen, and who numbers for his Progenitors a long Race of *Mauritanian* Kings; who derive their Genealogies from *Diodorus* and *Sophax*, and are lineally descended from *Hercules*.

When *Sertorius* had made himself absolute Master of the whole Country, he was very just to Those who had confided in him, and shew'd not the least Unkindness to Others, who yielded to his Mercy, but restored to them their Estates, their Cities, their Laws and Privileges, accepting only of such Acknowledgments as they Themselves freely offered. And whilst he considered which way next to turn his Arms, the *Lusitanians* sent Ambassadors to desire him to be their General; for being terrified with the *Roman* Power, and finding the Necessity of having a Commander of great Authority and Experience in War, being also sufficiently informed of his Worth and Valour by Those who had formerly served him, they were extremely desirous to commit Themselves and their Fortunes wholly to his Care, and humbly beseeched him to accept of the Command. And to give a true Character of *Sertorius*, he was of a Temper not to be surprized with Fear, nor easy to be captivated with Pleasure; in Adversity and Dangers undaunted, and no ways puffed up with Prosperity, but of an even Mind, Courteous and Obliging. Upon a sudden Assault or dangerous Attempt, no Commander in his time was more bold and daring, for whatever was to be performed in War by Deceit, Circumvention, or Surprize; or if any strong Place was to be taken in, any Pass to be gained speedily, any sudden Invasion

vasion or Inroad to be made, he was a most notable Contriver, and politick Advancer of all such intricate and difficult Designs. In bestowing Rewards, and conferring Honours upon Those who had performed good Service in the Wars, he was Bountiful and Magnificent even to Prodigality, but very sparing and backward in punishing Crimes, and Mild and Merciful to Offenders: Yet that piece of Harshness and Cruelty, which he executed in the latter Part of his Days, upon the *Spanish* Hostages, seems to argue, that his Clemency was not Natural, but only acted and handsomly dissembled, as his Occasions and Necessity required; and as to my own Opinion, I am persuaded that sincere Virtue established by Reason and mature Judgment, can never be totally perverted or extirpated by any Misfortune whatever. (1) Not that I think it impossible but that great Indignities offered without Cause, and frequent Abuses put upon Those of the best Nature, and most virtuous Inclinations, may make some Impression and Alteration in their Temper; and thus I suppose it happened to *Sertorius*, who being exasperated by the repeated Injuries of ungrateful Persons, he was at last severe to Those who had unworthily injured him.

The *Lusitanians* having sent for *Sertorius*, he left *Africa*, and being made General with absolute Power and Authority, he ordered all things for the best Advantage, and brought the neighbouring Parts of *Spain* under his Subjection; many Countries also voluntarily submitted themselves, won by the Fame of his Clemency, and of his Martial Performances.

(1) Instead of being impossible, it is not only very possible, but very common; so that nothing can be truer than what *Electra* saith in *Sophocles*, It is very difficult, my Friends, for any one in my Condition to keep within due Bounds, and not repine at Providence. Such woful Calamities change our very Natures, and force us in spite of our selves to become Wicked. This is the only Reason that can be offered as an Excuse for *Sertorius*.

Upon

Upon some Occasions also he would not fail to invent strange Artifices to please the People, and to make use of alluring Devices, and even of deluding Impostures, amongst which, certainly that of the Hind was none of the least. *Spanus* a Country-man, who lived in those Parts, meeting by chance a Hind that had newly Calved, flying from the Hunters, he let the Dam go, and pursuing the Hind-calf, took it, being wonderfully pleased with the Rarity of it, and the Strangeness of the Colour, which was all milk-white; and at the same time *Sertorius* keeping his Court in those Parts, and receiving courteously such Presents of Fruit, Fowl, or Venison as the Country afforded, and rewarding liberally Those who presented them, the Country-man brought him his young Hind, which he kindly accepted, and was much taken with it at the first Sight; but when in time he had made it so tame and gentle, that it would come when he called, and follow him wheresoever he went, and could endure the Noise and Tumult of the Camp; knowing well that barbarous People are naturally prone to Superstition, by degrees he gave out that it was inspired, (1) that it was given him by *Diana*, that it discovered hidden Mysteries, and revealed what was to come to pass hereafter: To which also he added these further Contrivances; if he had received at any time private Intelligence, that the Enemies had made an Incurſion into those Provinces which were

(1) We meet in ancient History with many Examples of this sort of Devices made use of by the greatest Generals, and wisest Lawgivers, the better to impose upon the Superstition and Credulity of the People. We met with a very extraordinary one in *Marius*, who but a few Years before the time of which *Plutarch* is now wri-

ting, had his *Syrian* Woman, who passed for a great Prophetess, and his tame Vulturs that were let loose on purpose to follow him. But these jugling Tricks were not only practised in the times of Darkness and Ignorance, but are renewed even in our Days, in the Days of the greatest Light and Knowledge.

under his Command, or had solicited any City to revolt, he pretended that the Hind had informed him of it in his sleep, and charged him to keep his Forces in readiness, or if otherwise he had notice that any of the Commanders under him had got a Victory, he would hide the Messengers, and bring forth the Hind crowned with Flowers, for joy of the good News that was to come, and would encourage them to rejoice and sacrifice to the Gods for the good Account they should soon receive of their Prosperous Success; and by those Inventions filling their Heads with strange Imaginations, and the Thoughts of Miracles, he brought them to be more tractable and obedient in all things, for now they thought themselves no longer to be led by a Stranger, but rather conducted by a Hero, or one nearly related to a God. Considering also that his Power daily increased, contrary to all Human Reason or Probability: For with two thousand five hundred, which for Honour's sake he called *Romans*, joined with seven hundred *Africans*, who landed with him when he first entered *Lusitania*, together with four thousand Foot, and seven hundred Horse, he made War with four *Roman* Generals, who commanded a hundred and twenty thousand Foot, six thousand Horse, two thousand Archers and Slingers, and Cities innumerable; whereas at the first he had not above twenty Cities in all; and from this weak and slender Beginning, he became afterwards so considerable, that he took many good Cities, and overcame Great and Powerful Countries. Of the *Roman* Commanders which were sent against him, he overthrew *Cotta* in a Sea-fight, in the Channel near (1) the City of *Mellaria*; he routed *Phidius* chief

(1) *Mellaria*, now *Tariffa*, between *Trafalgar* and *Gibraltar*, in the Streights Mouth. *Cape Spartel*, and *Trafalgar*, *Abyla*, and *Gibraltar*, are Places well known to Seamen that sail into the *Mediterranean* Com-

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Commander of *Hispania Bætica*, and slew two thousand *Romans* near the Banks of the River *Bætis*. *Domitius* and *Lucius Manlius*, Proconsul of another Province of *Spain*, were overthrown in a set Battel by one of his Lieutenants; he slew *Toranius* a Commander sent against him by *Metellus* with a great Force, and destroyed his whole Army; and *Metellus*, the greatest General in those Times, and a Person of the most approved Experience of any *Roman* then living, was often supplanted and circumvented by him, and reduced to such Extremities, that he was forced to call *Lucius Lollius* to his Assistance out of *Gallia Narbonensis*; and *Rome* itself being alarmed and terrified, parted with her beloved *Pompey* the Great, and sent Him into *Spain* in all haste with the most considerable Forces of the *Roman* Empire: Nor did *Metellus* know which way to turn himself, having to do with a Man of undaunted Boldness and Sagacity, who was continually molesting him, and yet could not be brought to a set Battel, but by the Swiftmess and Dexterity of his *Spanish* Soldiery he was able to change his Station, and to cast his Army into all Forms and Figures, to lead them on, and bring them off again, and wind himself out of all Straits and Difficulties; and although *Metellus* had great Experience in conducting entire well-appointed Legions, and was an excellent Commander of Soldiers arm'd with heavy Armour, and drawn up in due Order into a standing Phalanx able to encounter the Enemy hand to hand, and overpower them by clear Force, yet he was no way able to climb up steep Hills, and be continually upon the Pursuit of a swift Enemy, or attend the speedy Marches of Men that were accustomed to range about the Mountains, to endure Hunger and Thirst, and to live exposed to the Wind and Weather without Fire or Covering; besides that, *Metellus* being now in Years, and having been formerly engag'd

in many Fights and dangerous Conflicts, he was by this time inclinable to lead a more remiss, easy, and voluptuous Life, and was the less able to contend with *Sertorius*, who was in the Flower and Strength of his Youth, full of Spirit and Life, and had a Body wonderfully fitted for War, being strong, active and temperate, continually accustom'd to endure hard Labour, to take long, tedious Journies, and to pass many Nights together without Sleep, to eat little, and to be satisfy'd with very coarse Fare, and was never stain'd with the least Excess in Wine, even when he was most at Leisure, but what time he had to spare, he spent in hunting, and riding into all Parts, whereby he understood the Course of the Country, the Situation of all Places, and where there were Passages, and where not; with this Advantage to Himself, that when he could not maintain the Fight, he knew which way to fly and escape, and where certainly to ensnare and encompass his Enemy, when Victory accompany'd his Arms; insomuch that Those with *Metellus* suffer'd all Inconveniencies like Men that were conquer'd, although he earnestly desir'd to fight, and *Sertorius* (though he refused the Field) reap'd all the Advantages of a Conqueror, for he hindred them from Foraging, and cut off all Provision; if they proceeded forward, he stop'd their March; if they stay'd in any Place and encamp'd, he continually molested and alarm'd them; if they besieg'd any Town, he presently appear'd and besieg'd Them again, and reduced them to great Extremities for want of Necessaries, whereby he weary'd out the *Roman* Army, and reduced them to so low and despairing a Condition, that when *Sertorius* challenged *Metellus* to fight singly with him, they commended him, and cried out, *It was a fair Offer for a Roman to fight against a Roman, and a General against a General*; and when *Metellus* refus'd the

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Challenge, they reproach'd him, but *Metellus* derided and contemn'd them, in doing which he did well; for, as *Theophrastus* observes, a General should die like a General, and not like a Gladiator.

Metellus perceiving that the City of the *Lagobrites*, which gave great Assistance to *Sertorius*, might easily be taken for want of Water, (there being but one Well within the Walls) and that Whosoever besieged the Place might make himself Master of the Springs and Fountains in the Suburbs, he hoped to force the Town in two Days time, and gave Command to his Soldiers to take five Days Provisions only; but *Sertorius* resolving to send speedy Relief, order'd two thousand Vessels to be fill'd with Water, and a good Reward for the Carriage of every Vessel, and many *Spaniards* and *Moors* undertaking the Work, he chose out Those who were strongest and swiftest of Foot, and sent them through the Mountains, with Order, that when they had deliver'd the Water, they should remove and convey away privately all Those who would be least serviceable in the Siege, that there might be Water sufficient for the Defendants. As soon as *Metellus* understood This, he was highly disturb'd, and when he had spent most part of the necessary Provisions for his Army, he sent out *Aquinius* with six thousand Soldiers to fetch in fresh Supplies; but *Sertorius* having notice of it, laid an Ambush for him, and having sent out before-hand three thousand Men, which he placed within a shady Valley, in a Channel which had been made hollow by the rapid fall of Water from the Hills, they set upon the Rear of *Aquinius* in his Return, while *Sertorius* charging him in the Front, destroy'd Part of his Army, and took the rest Prisoners, *Aquinius* only escaping, after he had been thrown from his Horse, and lost his Armour; and *Metellus* being forced shamefully to raise the Siege, became the Laughter

and Contempt of the *Spaniards*, and *Sertorius* the Object of their Esteem, Love and Admiration. He was also highly honoured for his instituting a right Discipline, and good Order amongst them; for he altered their furious savage Manner of Fighting, and brought them to make use of the *Roman* Armour, taught them to keep their Ranks, and follow their Ensigns, and out of a confused Number of Thieves and Robbers, he constituted a regular well-disciplin'd Army; he afterwards bestow'd Silver and Gold upon them liberally, to gild and adorn their Helmets; he caus'd their Shields to be wrought, and engrav'd with various Figures and Designs; he brought them into the Mode of wearing flower'd and richly embroider'd Cloaths; and by courting them, by paying their Expences, by conversing familiarly with them, he won the Hearts of All, and led Them whither he pleas'd; but That which delighted them most, was the Care he took of their Children, when he sent for all the Noblemen's Sons in those Parts, and placed them in the great City of *Osca*, where he appointed Masters to instruct them in the *Grecian* and *Roman* Learning, that when they came to be Men they might be fitted to share with him in Authority, and in the Government of the Commonwealth; although under this Pretence of their better Education, (1) he really made them Hostages and Sureties for their Country; however their Fathers were wonderfully pleas'd to see their Children going daily to the Schools in good Order, handsomly dress'd in fine long Garments edged with Purple, and that *Sertorius* paid a Sallary for their Learning, examin'd them often, distributed Rewards to the most deserving, and gave them Jewels

(1) This was a true Fetch in him of their Fidelity, and gained Politicks. *Sertorius* knew how to more by Good-will than Others ingratiate himself with the People could do by Force. *Alexander* had by the same Means that assured done the same thing before him,

to hang about their Necks, and golden Boffes, which the *Romans* call'd *Bulle*.

(1) It being at that time a Custom in *Spain*, that when a great Commander was slain in Battel, (2) Those who attended his Person, fought it out till they all dy'd with him, which the Inhabitants of those Countries call'd an Offering, or (3) Libation poured upon the Sacrifice; there were few Commanders that had any considerable Guard or Number of Attendants; but *Sertorius* had many Thousands who offer'd up themselves, and vow'd to sacrifice their Lives, and spend their Blood with His; and it is reported, that when his Army was defeated near a City in *Spain*, and the Enemy press'd hard upon them, the *Spaniards* took

(1) It was the same Custom with That in *Gaul*, where a Number of resolute Fellows, called *Soldurii*, devoted themselves to a Prince or some other great Man, to share with him in his Fortune, both Good, and Bad, and either to fall with him in Battel, or kill themselves in case he was defeated; which was a Point of Honour wherein None of them were ever known to fail. *Cæs. de bell. Gall. Lib. 3. Dion. lib. 53.* tells us that a certain Person called *Sextus Pacuvius*, or *Apudius*, did in full Senate devote himself to *Augustus*, after the Manner of the *Spaniards*, and would have forced all the rest to follow his Example. But This was the Action of a vile mercenary Flatterer, who meant nothing of what he said, and did it only to ingratiate himself with his Prince, wherein indeed he succeeded; for often in Courts Hypocrisy has the start of Truth. This Custom did not only prevail in *Gaul*, and *Spain*,

but has been practised in *Portugal*, in the Isle of *Ceylon* in the *East-Indies*, in the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, and other Parts, and Those who had thus devoted themselves were in some Places called the *King's Vassals in this World, and in the next.*

(2) I wish *Plutarch* had told us by what Name those heroick Persons were distinguished in *Spain*, as *Cæsar* has told us what Those of the same Order were called in *Gaul*.

(3) This is the proper Signification of the Word *κατάσχεσις*, which was borrowed from the Sacrifices, wherein they made an Asperision, or Libation upon the Sacrifice they were offering, and upon the Victim as they were leading it to the Altar; and This may give us a true Sense of that Passage in *St. Paul*, 2d Epist. to *Tim. iv. 6. εὖ γε γὰρ νῦν σὺν ὁσίοις*, which is thus rendered in the *English Translation*, *I am now ready to be offered.*

no Care for Themselves, but being totally sollicitous to save *Sertorius*, they took him upon their Shoulders, and pass'd him from one to another, 'till they had conveyed him into the City, and when they had thus placed their General in Safety, every one provided afterwards for his own Security.

Nor were the *Spaniards* alone ambitious to serve him, but the *Roman* Soldiers also that came out of *Italy* were impatient to be under his Command; and when *Perpenna*, who was of the same Faction with *Sertorius*, came into *Spain* with great Riches, and a good Army, and design'd to make War against *Metellus* in a distinct Body by Himself, his own Soldiers oppos'd it, and discoursed continually of the great Fame and Merit of *Sertorius*; which was no small Mortification to *Perpenna*, who was puffed up with the Grandeur of his Family and his Riches. When they afterwards understood also that *Pompey* the Great had pass'd the *Pyrenees*, they took up their Arms, laid hold on their Ensigns, call'd upon *Perpenna* to lead them to *Sertorius*, and threatened him, that if he refused it, they would go and place themselves under a Commander who was sufficiently able to defend Himself and Those that serv'd him, which forced *Perpenna* to yield to their Desires, who immediately joining with *Sertorius*, added to his Army three and fifty Cohorts; and when all the Cities on this side of the River *Iberus* also united their Forces together under his Command, his Army grew great, for they flock'd together, and flow'd in upon him from all Quarters; but when they continually cry'd out to charge the Enemy, and were impatient of Delay, their unexperienced Rashness was troublesome to *Sertorius*, who at first strove to restrain them with Reason and good Counsel, but when he perceiv'd them refractory and unseasonably violent, he gave way to their impetuous Desires, and permitted them to engage with
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the Enemy, in such sort, that being repulsed, yet not totally routed, he hop'd they would become more obedient to his Commands for the future; which happening as he conjectured, he soon rescu'd them, and brought them safe into his Camp; and after a few days being willing to encourage them again, when he had call'd all his Army together, (1) he caus'd two Horses to be brought in to the Field, one an old, feeble, lean Jade, the other a lusty strong Horse, with a very fair, thick, long Tail; near to the lean Jade he placed a tall strong Man, and near to the strong young Horse, a weak, little, despicable Fellow, and at a Sign given, the strong Man took hold of the weak Horse's Tail with both his Hands, and drew it to him with his whole Force, as if he would pull it off at once; the other little weak Fellow in the mean time fell to plucking off Hair by Hair from the great Horse's Tail; and when the strong Man had laboured much in vain, and made himself the Jest of all the Spectators, he gave over. But the weak pitiful Wretch in a short Time, and with little Pains, had left never a Hair on the great Horse's Tail. Then Sertorius rose up, and spake to his Army after this Manner: *You see, Fellow-Soldiers, that Ingenuity is greater than Force, and Perseverance more prevailing than Violence. Many things which cannot be overcome when they are together, yield themselves up by Degrees when they are separated. Assiduity and continued Diligence is resistless, and in time overthrows and destroys the greatest Powers whatever; Time being the favourable Friend and Assistant of Those, who thro' mature Judgment understand aright how to take their best Advantages; and the destructive Enemy of Such*

(1) This Apologue of Sertorius is become very famous, and is alluded to by Horace in the first Epistle of his second Book.

as are unseasonably urging and pressing forward. (1) With such like Inventions and Discourses, wherewith he frequently entertained them, he bridled the rash fierceness of the Barbarous People, and taught them to attend and to watch for their best Opportunities of Fighting.

But of all his remarkable Exploits, and wonderful Stratagems in War, none raised greater Admiration, than That which he put in practice against the *Characitani*; a People living beyond the River *Tagus*, who inhabited neither Cities nor Towns, but dwelt on a vast high Hill, within the deep Dens and Caves of the Rocks, the Mouths of which open all towards the North. The Country below it is a clayish, chalky Soil, and being also light, full of Pores, and spongy, it is apt to be crummed and broken into Powder, and is not firm enough to bear any one that treads upon it, and if you touch it in the least, it flies about like Ashes, or unslaked Lime. In any danger of War, these People descend into their Caves, and carrying in their Booty and Prey along with them, are free from all fear, and think themselves invincible. And when *Sertorius*, being at some distance from *Metellus*, had placed his Camp near this Hill, they slighted and despised him, imagining that he retired into these Parts, being overthrown by the *Romans*; and whether out of Anger and just Resentment, or out of his unwillingness to be thought to fly from his Enemies, he caused himself to be carried thither early in the Morning to view the situation of the Place; but finding there was no way to come at it, as he rode

(1) It appears from this Passage, that many of *Sertorius* his Fables or Apologues were remember'd in *Plutarch's* time, I could wish he had transmitted them down

to Us, for there is nothing more instructive than those Apologues, when applied to particular Instances.

about threat'ning them in vain, and troubled in his Mind, he took notice that the Wind raised the Dust, and carried it up towards the Caves of the *Characitani*, the Mouths of which, as we said before, opened towards the North; and the northerly Winds, which some call *Cæcias*, prevailing most in those Parts, is engender'd out of the moist Morish Plains, or the Mountains covered with Snow, and in the Heat of Summer being supplied and encreased by the Relaxation and Melting of the Ice on the Peaks of the Northern Hills, it blows a delightful fresh Gale, which recreates the *Characitani*, and refreshes their Cattle all the Day long. *Sertorius* considering well all Circumstances, wherein either the Information of the Inhabitants, or his own Experience had instructed him, commanded his Soldiers to shovel up a great Quantity of this light dusty Earth, to heap it up together, and make a Mount of it, over-against the Hill wherein these barbarous People resided, who imagining that all this Preparation was for the raising of a Fort, or for the making of a Bulwark against them, they looked upon it at first as a ridiculous impracticable Design; however he continued the Work 'till the Evening, and brought his Soldiers back into their Camp. The next Morning, when a gentle Breeze arose, and moved the lightest Parts of the Earth, and dispersed it about as the Chaff before the Wind, and when the Sun coming to be higher, the blustering Northerly Wind had covered the Hills with the Dust, the Soldiers turned this new Mount of Earth over and over, and brake the Clods of Clay in Pieces, whilst Others on Horseback rode thro' it backward and forward, and raised a Cloud of dust, which being committed to the Wind, was blown into the Dwellings of the *Characitani*, the entrances into which were all towards the North, and there being no other Vent or Passage, than that

that through which the blustering *Cacias* rushed in upon them, together with all the powdered Earth and Dust, tossed and blown about, it quickly blinded their Eyes, and filled their Lungs, and causing a Difficulty of Breathing, choak'd them up, whilst they strove to draw in the rough harsh Air mingled with Streams of Dust; nor were they able with great hardship to hold out above two Days, but yielded up themselves on the Third. This Success added not so much to the Strength and Power of *Sertorius*, as it encreased his Glory and Renown, in letting the World see that he was able to conquer those Places by Art, and by the Strength of his Brain, which were impregnable and never to be taken by the Force of Arms. He was continually Successful during the whole War against *Metellus*, who by reason of his Age and his slow Temper was not able to resist the active Boldness and Bravery of *Sertorius*, who commanded a light Army, more like a Band of Robbers, than a due established Militia. But when *Pompey* also had passed over the *Pyrenees*, and *Sertorius* had pitched his Camp over-against him, where Both of them gave the utmost Proofs of their Gallantry and Skill in War, both in receiving and attacking one another, and when it was found *Sertorius* far surpassed him, either in defending himself, or countermining the Designs of his Enemies, then was his Fame highly celebrated even in *Rome* itself, for the most terrible Warriour, and the most expert Commander of his Time. For *Pompey's* Reputation was then almost at the highest, after his remarkable Exploits under *Sylla*, which had obliged that General to confer on him the Sirname of *Great*, and enabled him to acquire the Honour of a Triumph even before the Down appeared on his Chin; and This it was which made many of the Cities, which were then under the Power of *Sertorius*, immediately upon

upon his Arrival to cast their Eyes on *Pompey*, and inclin'd them to open their Gates to Him. But they were deterred from it by that great Action, amongst others, which he performed near the City of *Lauren*, contrary to the Expectation of All.

As soon as *Sertorius* had laid Siege to *Lauren*, *Pompey* came with his whole Army to relieve it, and there being a Hill near the City very advantageously seated, they Both made haste to take it. But *Sertorius* prevented him and took possession of it first, and *Pompey* having drawn down his Forces, was not sorry that it had thus succeeded, for he imagined that he had hereby enclosed his Enemy between his own Army and the City, and sent in a Messenger to the Citizens of *Lauren*, to bid them be of good Courage, and to come upon their Walls, where they might see their Besieger besieged. *Sertorius* perceiving their Intentions, smiled, and told them, *He would now teach Sylla's Scholar* (for so he called *Pompey* in derision) *that it was the part of a General to look as well behind him as before him*, and at the same time gave the Besieged an Opportunity of seeing six thousand Soldiers which he had left in his former Camp, from whence he marched out to take the Hill, where if *Pompey* should assault him, they might fall upon his Rear. *Pompey* discovered this too late, and not daring to give Battel, for fear of being encompassed in on every side, and yet being ashamed to leave his Friends and Confederates in extream Danger, was forced to sit still and see them ruined before his Face; for the Besieged despair'd of Relief, and delivered up themselves to *Sertorius*, who spared their Lives, and granted them their Liberties, but burnt their City; not out of Anger or Cruelty, (for of all Commanders that ever were, *Sertorius* seems least of all to have indulged these Passions) but only for the greater Shame and Confusion of the Admirers of *Pompey*, and that

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it might be reported among the *Spaniards*, that the Fire which burnt down his Confederates, tho' he was so near as to be well warmed at it, was not able to raise Heat enough in Him to make him dare to relieve them.

Sertorius sustained some Losses in these Wars, but he always defended Those with him, and maintain'd Himself Invincible, and it was by other Commanders under him that he suffer'd; and he was more admired for being able to repair his Losses, for showing himself brave in Danger, for recovering the Victory, when the Field seem'd already to be lost, than the *Roman* Generals were for gaining these Advantages against him. As at the Battel of *Sucro* against *Pompey*, and at the Battel near *Tuttia* against Him and *Metellus* together. It is reported that the Battel near the City of *Sucro* was through the Impatience of *Pompey*, lest that *Metellus* should share with him in the Victory, and thro' the Willingness of *Sertorius* to fight with him before the Arrival of *Metellus*: However, *Sertorius* delay'd the time 'till the Evening, considering that the darkness of the Night would be a great disadvantage to his Enemies, either Flying, or Pursuing, who were meer Strangers, and had no knowledge of the Country. When the Fight began, it happen'd that *Sertorius* was not placed directly against *Pompey*, but against *Afranius*, who commanded the left Wing of the *Roman* Army, as He commanded the right Wing of his Own; but when he understood that his left Wing began to give way, and yield to the furious Assaults of *Pompey*, he committed the care of his right Wing to other Commanders, and made haste to relieve Those in distress, and rallying Some that were flying, and encouraging Others that still kept their Ranks, he renewed the Fight, and set upon them with that Force, that he routed the Enemy, and brought

Pompey, who was pursuing, into great danger of his Life; for after being wounded and thrown from his Horse, he very narrowly escaped; for the *Africans* with *Sertorius*, who took *Pompey's* Horse set out with Gold, and covered with rich Trappings, fell out with one another, and upon dividing of the Spoil, gave over the Pursuit. *Afranius* in the mean time, as soon as *Sertorius* had left his Right Wing to assist the other part of his Army, overthrew All that opposed him, and pursued them to their Camp, fell in with them, and plunder'd them 'till it was dark Night; knowing nothing of *Pompey's* Overthrow, nor being able to restrain his Soldiers from Pillaging. When *Sertorius* returning with Victory, fell upon the Forces of *Afranius*, which were in Disorder, and slew great Numbers of them; and the next Morning came into the Field again, well armed, and offered Battel; but perceiving that *Metellus* was near, he drew off, and returned to his Camp, saying, *If that old Woman had not been here, I would have whipped the Boy soundly, and sent him back to Rome.*

He was at this time much concern'd for the loss of his Hind, which could no where be found; for thereby he was destitute of an admirable Contrivance, both to amuse and encourage the barbarous People, and That at a time when he most stood in need of it. But by good Fortune some of his Men as they were wandering in the Night chanced to meet her, and knowing her by her Colour, they immediately carried her to *Sertorius*. He was highly pleased at having thus recovered her, and promising Them that found her a generous Reward, provided they would not tell of it, he locked her up very carefully. A few days after he appeared in publick with a very chearful Look, and declar'd to the chief Nobility of the Country, that the Gods had foretold him in a Dream, that
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some great good Fortune should suddenly attend him; and whilst he was seated on his Tribunal to answer the Petitions of Those who applied themselves to him, the Keepers of the Hind let her loose, and she no sooner espy'd *Sertorius*, but she ran bounding towards him with great Joy, leap'd on the Tribunal, laid her Head on his Lap, and lick'd his Hands with her accustomed Familiarity. *Sertorius* in Return stroak'd and caress'd her with all the Tokens of a real Tenderness and Affection, insomuch that he wept for Joy. All the Assistants were immediately fill'd with Wonder and Astonishment, and afterwards accompanying him to his House with respectful Congratulations, and loud Shouts for Joy, they proclaimed him above the Rank of common Men, and considered him as a Person highly favoured of the Gods, which restored their Courage, and gave them great Hopes of Success in their future Undertakings.

When he had reduced his Enemies to the last Extremity for want of Provision, he was forced to give them Battel (in the Plains near *Saguntum*) to hinder them from foraging, and plundering the Country; where both Parties fought gloriously, and *Memmius*, the greatest Commander in *Pompey's* Army, was slain in the Heat of the Battel; but *Sertorius* overthrew all before him, and with great Slaughter of his Enemies press'd forward towards *Metellus*. This old Commander making a stout Resistance, beyond what could be expected from one of his Years, was wounded with a Lance, which struck Amazement into All that saw it, or heard it, and fill'd the *Roman* Soldiers Hearts with Sorrow and with Shame, to be thought to have left their General in Distress; but at the same time it provoking them to Revenge and Fury against their Enemies, they soon cover'd *Metellus* with their Shields, and brought him off in Safety, and then vali-

valiantly repulsed the *Spaniards*; whereby Victory changed sides, and *Sertorius*, that he might afford a more secure Retreat to his Army, and that more Forces might be rais'd, with greater Ease retir'd into a strong City in the Mountains; and though it was the least of his Intention to sustain a long Siege, yet he began to repair the Walls, and to fortify the Gates, whereby he deluded his Enemies, who came and set down before the Town, hoping to take it without much Resistance; and gave over the Pursuit of the *Spaniards*, affording them opportunity to gather together again, and to raise new Forces for *Sertorius*; to which purpose he had sent Commanders to all their Cities, with Orders when they had sufficiently encreas'd their Numbers, to send him word of it; which News he no sooner received, but he sally'd out and forced his way thro' his Enemies, and easily joyn'd with the rest of his Army, and having received this considerable Reinforcement, he set upon the *Romans* again, and by fiercely assaulking them, by alarming them on all sides, by ensnaring, circumventing, and laying Ambushes for them, he cut off all Provisions by Land, while with his Ships of War and Pyratical Vessels he kept all the Coast in awe, and hindered their Recruits by Sea, whereby he forced the *Roman* Generals to dislodge, and to separate from one another. *Metellus* departed into *Gaul*, and *Pompey* wintered among the *Vaccæans*, in a wretched Condition, where being in extreme want of Money, he wrote a lamentable Letter to the Senate, to let them know that if they did not speedily supply him, he must draw off his Army; for he had already spent his own Estate in the Defence of his Country. To these Extremities the chiefest and the most powerful Commanders of the Age were reduced by the Skill and Valour of *Sertorius*; and it was the common Opinion in *Rome*, that he would be sooner in *Italy* than *Pompey*; and how far *Metellus* was terrified

rify'd with his Greatness, and at what rate He esteem'd him, he plainly declared, when he offered by Proclamation an hundred Talents and twenty thousand Acres of Land to any *Roman* that should kill him, and Leave, if he were banished, to return; attempting villanously to betray and sell him, when he despair'd of ever being able to overcome him in open War, with all the powerful Forces of the *Roman* Empire. And when afterwards he gain'd some Advantage in a Fight against *Sertorius*, he was so wonderfully pleas'd and transported with his good Fortune, that he caus'd himself to be publicly proclaim'd *Imperator*; and suffered all the Cities through which he pass'd to receive him with Altars and Sacrifices; where indulging himself in splendid Entertainments, and costly Suppers, he would sit drinking in his Triumphal Robes, with Garlands and Crowns upon his Head, while the Images and Figures of Victory were introduced by the Motion of Machines, bringing in with them Crowns and Trophies of Gold, to present to him, and Companies of young Men and Women danced before him, courted him, and sang to him Songs of Joy and Triumph; whereby he rendered himself deservedly ridiculous, for being excessively delighted and puffed up with the thoughts of following One that retired of his own accord, and for having once the better of Him, whom he used to call *Sylla's Fugitive*, and his Forces the *Remainder of the scatter'd Troops of Carbo*.

The Generosity of *Sertorius* signally appeared when he appointed a Senate, and call'd together all the *Roman* Senators which fled from *Rome*, and came and resided with him; and out of These he chose *Prætors* and *Quæstors*, and adorn'd his Government with all the *Roman* Laws and Constitutions; and though he made use of the Arms, Riches, and Cities of the *Spaniards*, yet he would never permit

permit Them so much as to mention any thing of Government, but set *Roman* Officers and Commanders over them, whereby he restored Liberty to the *Romans*, without increasing the *Spaniards* Power against them; for he was a sincere Lover of his Country, and had a great Desire to return home; but in adverse Fortune he shewed his undaunted Courage, and behaved himself towards his Enemies free from all Dejection and Mean-spiritedness; but when he was in his Prosperity, and in the Height of his Victories, he sent word to *Metellus*, and *Pompey*, that he was ready to lay down his Arms, and live a private Life, if he were called home; declaring, that he had rather be the meanest Citizen in *Rome*, than supreme Commander of the whole World in any Place besides. It is thought that his great Love for his Country was in no small measure promoted by the Respect which he had for his Mother; under whom he was brought up in his tender Years, after the Death of his Father, and upon whom he had placed his entire Affection: And after that his Friends had sent for him into *Spain* to be their General, as soon as he heard of his Mother's Death, he had almost cast away himself, and dy'd for Grief; for he lay seven Days together continually upon the Ground, without giving the Word, or being seen by the nearest of his Friends; and when the chief Commanders of the Army and Persons of the greatest Note came about his Tent, with great Difficulty they prevailed with him at last to come abroad and speak to his Soldiers, and to take upon him the Management of Affairs, which were in a prosperous Condition; by all which he seems to have been of a mild and compassionate Temper, and naturally given to Ease and Quietness, and that he accepted of the Command of Military Forces contrary to his own Inclination; but not being able to live in Safety, he was forced by

his Enemies to have Recourse to Arms, and to espouse the Wars as a necessary Guard for the Defence of his Person.

His Treaty with *Mithridates* is a strong Proof of his Magnanimity. That Prince, after he had been overthrown by *Sylla*, had recovered himself, and like a vigorous Wrestler, desirous to try another Fall, was again endeavouring to re-establish his Power in *Asia*. At this time the great Fame of *Sertorius* was frequently celebrated in all Places; and the Merchants who came out of *Spain* and the Western Parts of *Europe*, to furnish the *Asiatics* with foreign Commodities, had fill'd all Parts of the East where they trafficked, especially the Kingdom of *Pontus*, with their Discourses of his Exploits in War. *Mithridates* was earnestly desirous to send an Embassy to him, being also highly encouraged to it by the Boastings of his Parasites, and flattering Courtiers, who comparing *Mithridates* to *Pyrrhus*, and *Sertorius* to *Hannibal*, gave out that the *Romans* would never be able to make any considerable Resistance against such great Forces, and Commanders of that Temper and sublime Judgment; when they should be set upon at once, by the most Warlike General that ever was, and by the most powerful of all the Kings in the Universe.

Mithridates therefore sent his Ambassadors into *Spain*, with Letters to *Sertorius*, and Offers to supply him with Money and Ships, to enable him to continue the War, provided *Sertorius* would secure to Him the Possession of all he had surrender'd to the *Romans* in his Treaty with *Sylla*.

As soon as these Ambassadors were arrived, *Sertorius* called a Council, which he named the *Senate*; where, when all joyfully approved of the Conditions, and were desirous immediately to accept of his Offer, seeing that he desired nothing of them but a Name, and an empty Title to Places not in
their

their Power to dispose of, in recompence of which they should be supplied with what they then stood most in need of, *Sertorius* would by no means agree to it; declaring, that as he was willing that *Mithridates* should exercise all Royal Power and Authority over *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, Countries accustomed to a Monarchical Government, and not belonging to *Rome*, so he could never consent that he should seize or detain a Province, which by due Right and Title was possessed by the *Romans*, which *Mithridates* had formerly lost in open War to *Fimbria*, and had afterwards quitted upon a Treaty of Peace with *Sylla*; for, said he, (1) *It is my Duty to enlarge the Roman Dominions by my Victories, and not encrease my own Power, by the Diminution of the Roman Territories: adding, that a generous-minded Man, though he willingly accepts of Victory, when it comes accompanied with Honour, yet he will never so much as endeavour to defend himself, or save his own Life, upon Terms that are dishonourable.*

When this was related to *Mithridates*, he was struck with Admiration, and said to his intimate Friends, *What will Sertorius enjoin us to do, when he comes to be seated in the Senate-house in Rome, who at present, when he is driven out to the furthest Parts of the Earth, bordering upon the far remote Western Ocean, sets Bounds to our Kingdoms in the East, and threatens us with War, if we attempt the Recovery of Asia? However they came to this Agreement, that Mithridates should enjoy the free Possession of Cappadocia and Bithynia, and that Sertorius should send him Soldiers, and a General for his Army, in recompence of which the King was to supply him with three thousand Talents, and forty Ships. Mar-*

(1) This is the Answer of a great and noble Mind, and contains in it the Duty of every honest Man, who ought by his Victories to enlarge his Country, and not ruin his Country to enlarge his Victories.

The LIFE of

cus Marius a Roman Senator, who had quitted *Rome* to follow *Sertorius*, was sent General into *Asia*, by whose Conduct when *Mithridates* had reduced divers of the *Asian* Cities, *Marius* made his Entrance with Rods and Axes carried before him, as before a Proconsul of *Rome*, and *Mithridates* followed in the second Place, voluntarily waiting upon him. However some of these Cities he set at Liberty, and Others he freed from Taxes, signifying to them by Letters, That these Privileges were granted to them by the Grace and Favour of *Sertorius*: and hereby *Asia*, which had been miserably tormented by the Unsatiableness of the Publicans, and oppressed by the insolent Pride and Covetousness of the Soldiers, began to rise again, and with new Wings added to her former Hopes, to soar aloft in earnest Desires towards a long-wished-for Change of Government.

But in *Spain* the Senators and others of the Nobility, who were about *Sertorius*, and equal to him in Rank and Dignity, had no sooner conceived the Hopes of being able to make Head against their Enemies, (1) and got the better of their Fears, but Envy immediately and senseless Jealousies enflamed their Minds against *Sertorius*. These were headed by *Perpenna*, who being of a noble Family, and extremely envious of *Sertorius's* Greatness, was at this time so arrogantly transported with a fond Ambition of commanding the Army, that he threw out villainous Discourses in private amongst his intimate Acquaintance, and among those whose seditious Ingratitude had prepared them to hearken to him.

(1) Nothing is more common than This. That Power which is useful and beneficial, is also agreeable to us, and we submit with Cheartfulness. But the Moment it becomes unnecessary, and we find we are in a Condition to support and protect ourselves, then are we stung with Envy and Jealousy, which prompt us to throw off a Yoke that is grown too heavy for us.

What

What evil Genius (would he often say) hurries us perpetually from worse to worse? and We who disdained to obey the Dictates of Sylla, the great Ruler of Sea and Land, and might have lived at home in Peace and Quiet, are come hither to our Destruction, hoping to enjoy Liberty, where most wretchedly we have made our selves Slaves of our own accord, and are become the contemptible Guards and Attendants of the banished Sertorius; who that he may expose us the further, gives us a Name that renders us ridiculous to All that hear it, and calls us the Senate, when at the same time he makes us undergo more hard Labour, and forces us to be more subject to his haughty Commands and Insolencies, than the poor Spaniards and Lusitanians. With these mutinous Discourses he continually seduced them; and Many who could not be brought to fall into Rebellion openly against Sertorius, fearing his great Power and Authority, were prevailed with to endeavour to destroy his Interest secretly, and by many ways to ruin his Affairs. For by abusing the Lusitanians and Spaniards, by inflicting severe Punishments upon them, by raising exorbitant Taxes, and by pretending that All this was done by the strict Command of Sertorius, they caused great Troubles, and made many Cities to revolt: and Those who were sent to mitigate and heal these Differences, did rather exasperate them, and encrease the Number of his Enemies, and left them at their Return more obstinate and rebellious than they found them. This so highly incensed Sertorius, and (1) and caused so great an Alteration in his former Clemency and Goodness towards the Spaniards Sons educated in the great City of Osca, that contrary to all Civil

(1) Sertorius might say by way of Excuse on this Occasion, what *Electra* said in *Sophocles*, as it has been quoted already. But his Cruelty and Injustice are so excessive that they are inexcusable, and lessen the Compassion one should otherwise have been touched with at his Death. How great would Sertorius have been, but for this Blemish!

Justice be cruelly put Some of them to Death, and sold Others.

In the mean time *Perpenna* having encreased the Number of his Conspirators, drew in *Manlius*, a chief Commander in the Army. This *Manlius* was at that time in love with a Boy, and to endear himself, and let him see at what an excessive Rate he loved him, he discovered the whole Conspiracy to him, and pressed him to neglect his Rivals, and reserve himself wholly for Him, who was to be a great Man very soon. The Youth having a greater Inclination for *Aufidius*, disclos'd all to Him, which much surpriz'd and amazed him; for He was also one of the Confederacy; but knew not that *Manlius* was any ways engaged therein; but when the Youth began to name *Perpenna*, *Gracinus*, and Others, who he knew very well were sworn Conspirators, he was very much terrified, and astonished, but made flight of it to the Youth, and bid him not regard what *Manlius* said, a vain boasting Fellow; but however went presently to *Perpenna*, and giving him notice of the Danger they were in, and of the Shortness of their Time, desired him immediately to put their Designs in Execution; and when all the Confederates had consented to it, they provided a Messenger who brought feigned Letters to *Sertorius*, in which he had notice of a Victory obtained by one of his Lieutenants, and of the great Slaughter of his Enemies; and as *Sertorius*, being extreamly well pleased, was sacrificing and giving thanks to the Gods for his prosperous Success, *Perpenna* invited Him and Those with him (who were also of the Conspiracy) to an Entertainment, and being very importunate, prevailed with him to come. At all Suppers and Entertainments where *Sertorius* was present, great Order and Decency was wont to be observed, for he would not endure to hear or see any thing that was rude or unhandſom, and their

Freedom

Freedom and Mirth was modest and inoffensive; but in the middle of this Entertainment, Those who sought occasion to quarrel, fell into dissolute Discourses openly, and making as if they were very drunk, committed many Insolencies on purpose to provoke him; and *Sertorius* being offended with their ill Behaviour, or perceiving the Unquietness of their Minds by their muttering or sudden disrespect, changed the Posture of his lying, and leaned backward, as one that neither heard nor regarded them. Then *Perpenna* took a Cup full of Wine, and as he was a drinking, let it fall out of his Hand, and made a Noise, which was the Sign agreed on between them. Upon This *Antonius* who was next to *Sertorius* immediately wounded him with his Sword, and whilst *Sertorius* turned and strove to get up, *Antonius* threw himself upon his Breast, and held both his Hands, so that without being in the least able to defend himself, he lay exposed to the Fury of the rest of the Conspirators, who fell upon him and dispatch'd him.

Upon the first News of his Death, most of the *Spaniards* left the Conspirators, and sent Ambassadors to *Pompey* and *Metellus*, and yielded themselves up to them. *Perpenna* attempted to do something with Those that remained, but he made so ill use of *Sertorius's* Arms and Preparations for War, that he soon made it evident to All, (1) that he understood no more how to Command, than he knew how to Obey; and when he came against *Pompey* he was soon overthrown, and taken Prisoner; neither did he bear this last Affliction with any Bravery of Mind, but having *Sertorius's* Papers and Writings in his

(1) All the Forces and Preparations of a consummate Commander, are like the Tools or Instruments of an excellent Workman. They become unserviceable when they fall into the Hands of Those, who do not know how to make a right use of them. They are fit for nothing but to expose their Ignorance and Incapacity.

Hands,

Hands, he offered to shew *Pompey* Letters from Persons of Consular Dignity, and of the highest Quality in *Rome*, written with their own Hands, expressly to call *Sertorius* into *Italy*, and to let him know, what great Numbers there were that did earnestly desire to alter the present State of Affairs; and to introduce another manner of Government. Upon this Occasion *Pompey* behaved himself not like a young Man, or one of a light inconsiderate Mind, but as a generous Commander of a confirmed, mature, solid Judgment; whereby he freed *Rome* from great Fears and Innovations; for he put all *Sertorius's* Writings together, and read not one of them, nor suffered Any one else to read them, (1) but burnt them all, (2) and caused *Perpenna* immediately to be put to Death, lest by discovering their Names, further Troubles and Revolutions might ensue.

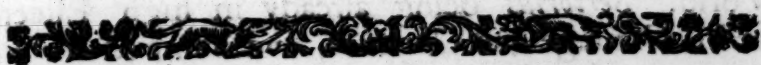
Of the rest of the Conspirators with *Perpenna*, Some of them were taken and slain by the Command of *Pompey*, Others fled into *Africa*, and were set upon by the *Moors*, and run through with their Darts; and in a short time not one of them was left alive; except only *Aufidius*, the Rival of *Manlius*, who hiding himself, or not being much enquired after, dyed an Old Man, in an obscure Village in *Spain*, in extreme Poverty, and hated by All.

(1) *Plutarch* very justly commends this prudent Action in *Pompey*. Those Papers might have kindled within the Walls of *Rome* a War of a more dangerous Nature than That of *Sertorius*. It is a principal Part of Wisdom to crush in time the Seeds of Trouble and Division.

(2) That Wretch was put to Death, and all his Accomplices died miserably. This is the just

Reward of such villainous Actions: God will not suffer them to remain long unpunished, but by the Vengeance that attends them, would deter Others from committing the like. Every one of Those that were concerned in the Death of *Cæsar* came to an unhappy End, and the Histories of all times, even down to our Own, are full of the like Examples.

The



The Comparison of Sertorius with Eumenes.

THESE are the most remarkable Passages that are come to our Knowledge, concerning *Eumenes* and *Sertorius*. In comparing their Lives we may observe, that This was common to them Both: that being Aliens, Strangers, and banished Men, they came to be Commanders of powerful Forces, and had the leading of Numerous and Warlike Armies, made up of divers Nations. (1) This was peculiar to *Sertorius*, that the chief Command was by his whole Party freely yielded to him, as to the Person undoubtedly of the greatest Merit, and of the highest Worth and Renown: whereas Many contended with *Eumenes*, 'till by his great Performances he at length obtain'd the Superiority.

The Soldiery follow'd the One, being earnestly desirous to be commanded by him, and submitted themselves to the Other for their own Security. (2) The One being a *Roman*, was the General of the *Spaniards* and *Lusitanians*, who for many Years before had been under the Subjection of the *Roman* Empire; and the Other a *Chersonesian*, was chief Commander of the *Macedonians*, who were the great

(1) This does not prove any Superiority of Merit in *Sertorius*, but only that he was more fortunate than *Eumenes*, in having to do with sensible Men, who knew how to set a right Value upon him; whereas *Eumenes* had to deal with Persons blinded with Jealousy and Envy.

(2) This Point gives *Eumenes* a great Advantage over *Sertorius*, for *Sertorius* commanded only over the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, People

already subdued by the *Romans*, whereas *Eumenes* commanded the *Macedonians*, who had conquered all Mankind. Now it was more difficult for a Stranger of *Chersonesus* to raise himself up to the Command of a victorious triumphant Nation, who had brought the whole Earth into Subjection, than for a *Roman* to get the Command of a Nation already conquered, and conquered by the *Romans*.

Con-

The Comparison of

Conquerors of Mankind, and had subdued the World. *Sertorius* being already in high Esteem for his Courage and Conduct, and admired for his former Services in the Wars, and his great Abilities in the Senate-House, was advanced to the Dignity of a General over a great and numerous Army. Whereas *Eumenes* obtain'd this Honour from the Office of a Writer or Secretary, and from having been (1) a long while despised by the great ones, for his scribbling Employment. (2) Nor did he only at first take his Rise from these slender Opportunities, but afterwards also met with great Impediments in the further Encrease and Progress of his Honour and Authority, and That, not only from Those who publicly resisted him, but from many Others who privately conspir'd against him: but it was much otherwise with *Sertorius*, for not one of his Party did ever publicly oppose him, or promote any Insurrection against him; 'till at last a few of his Acquaintance entered into a private Conspiracy to take away his Life. *Sertorius* put an end to His Dangers, as often as he was victorious in the Field; (2) whereas the Victories of *Eumenes* were the Beginning of his Calamities, through the Malice of Those who envy'd his Glory.

(1) This is still to the Advantage of *Eumenes*; for it must be no small Share of Virtue and Merit, that can cure Men of their Contempt, and force them to submit to the very Person they despised.

(2) Here we find two other Points wherein *Eumenes* has the Preference of *Sertorius*. As he had not Those Advantages at his first setting out for laying the Foundation of his Fortune, which *Sertorius* had, So he met with greater Obstacles in the Course of it when

he was to cement and secure himself in it. The Discouragements and Difficulties with which He was to contend, were much greater than Those that lay in the Way of *Sertorius*.

(3) How noble is this Idea! How does it heighten the Worth of *Eumenes*! What Sanctuary can be more secure than Victory? And yet it was Victory that exposed *Eumenes* every Day to fresh Dangers.

Their

Their Martial Performances were equal and parallel, but their Manners and Inclinations were different. *Eumenes* naturally lov'd War and Contention, but *Sertorius* esteem'd Peace and Tranquility. When *Eumenes* might have liv'd in Safety, with Honour, if he would have quietly retir'd, he persisted in his Contentions, and made War with the greatest of the *Macedonian* Princes, with the Danger and Loss of his Life: But *Sertorius*, who was unwilling to trouble himself with any publick Disturbances, was forced, for the Safety of his Person, to make War against Those who would not suffer him to live in Peace: If *Eumenes* had not violently contended for the Superiority, or could have contented himself with the second Place, *Antigonus* would have used him handsomly, and shewn him all Favour and Respect; whereas *Pompey's* Friends would never permit *Sertorius* to live in quiet. The One made War of his own accord, out of his Ambition to rule and govern; and the Other was constrain'd to accept of the Sovereign Power and Authority, to defend himself from his Enemies that made War against him. *Eumenes* was certainly a true Lover of War, for he preferred his covetous Ambition before his own Ease and Security; (1) but *Sertorius* was truly Warlike, who procur'd his own Safety by the successful Force of his Arms.

As to the Manner of their Deaths, it happened

(1) This Decision is That of a clear discerning Judgement. A Man who sacrificeth his Peace and Safety to his Ambition, and is resolved at all Hazards to be uppermost, cannot properly be called Warlike, but One who delights in War. Whereas He who delights in Peace and Tranquility, and is forced by his Enemies to take Arms

contrary to his Inclinations, and knows how to make use of those Arms towards the obtaining his beloved Peace and Security, That is the Soldier, That is the Warlike Man indeed, for he makes War itself, to which he is averse, prove his Sanctuary. This single Circumstance placeth *Sertorius* far above *Eumenes*.

to (1) One without the least Thought or Surmize o it; but to the Other when he suspected it daily; which in the First argu'd a clear equal Temper, and a noble Mind not to distrust his Friends: But in the Other it shew'd some Infirmary of Spirit, (2) for *Eumenes* intended to fly, and was taken. The Death of *Sertorius* dishonour'd not his Life; he suffer'd That from his Companions which None of his mortal Enemies were ever able to perform. The Other not being able to deliver himself before his Imprisonment, (3) and betraying a Desire to live even in Captivity, did neither prevent nor expect his Fate with any Honour or Bravery; for by meanly supplicating and petitioning, he made his Enemy, that pretended only to have Power over his Body, (4) to be Lord and Master of his Mind also.

(1) For *Sertorius* was murdered by *Perpenna* in the Height of an Entertainment, to which he had invited him. How could he with Reason distrust a Person who had given him so friendly an Invitation?

(2) That which *Plutarch* saith here relates to a Passage in Page 155, where *Eumenes* deliberates with himself whether he shall give up the Victory to the Enemy, or go and fling himself into *Cappadocia*.

(3) Where does This appear? no where in *Plutarch*. On the contrary it is plain *Eumenes* demanded that *Antigonus* would ei-

ther put him to Death speedily, or release him generously. This is not the Demand of One desirous to live, and to live in Captivity.

(4) This Sentiment as it is full of Truth, so is it the Sentiment of a great and noble Spirit. A Man may by Force make himself Master of the Body of Another, whilst the Mind remains free, and maintains the Sovereignty with which God has invested it; but when That degrades itself by Supplications and Prayers, from that Moment it loseth its Sovereignty, and acknowledged itself be in a State of Subjection.

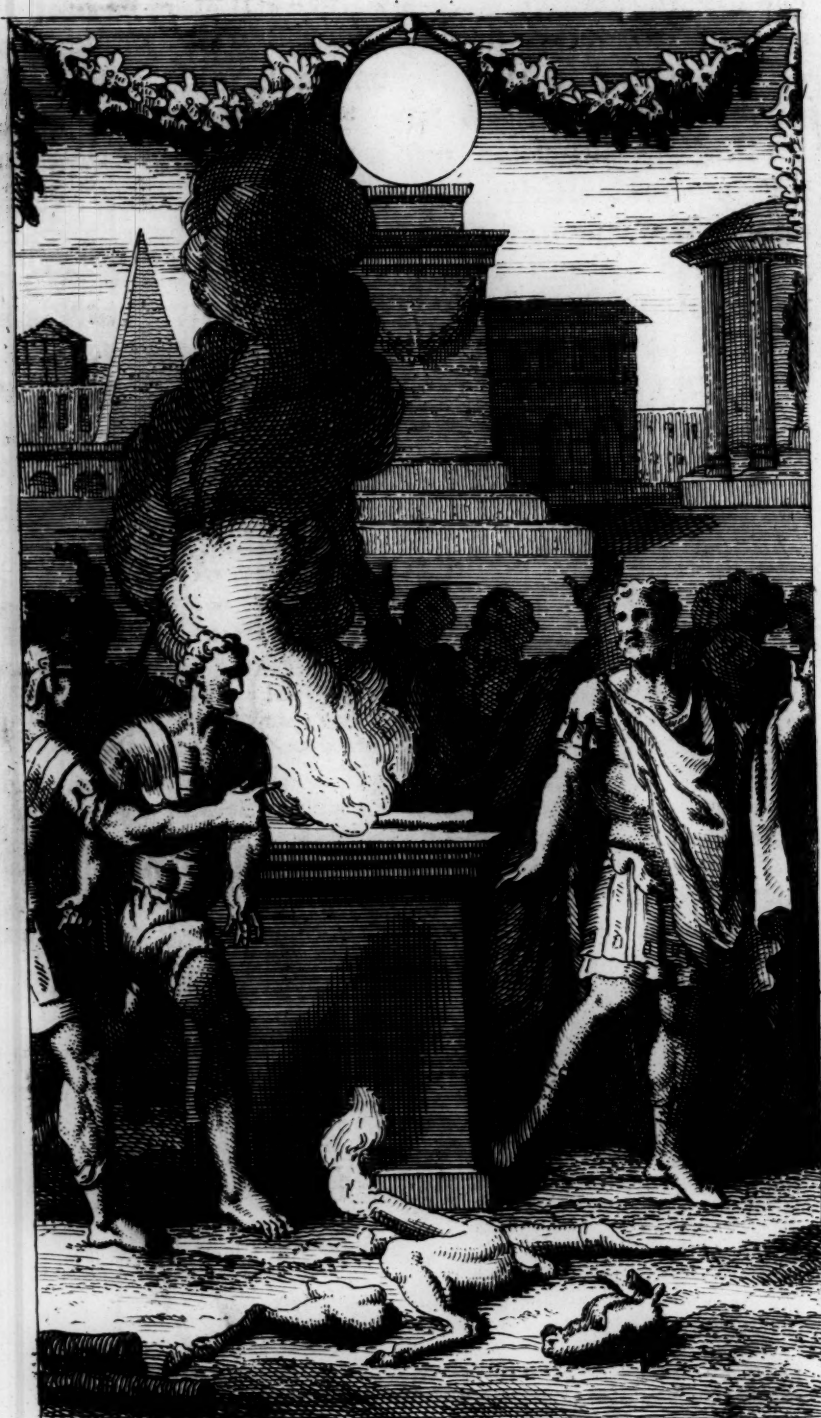


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THE
L I F E
O F
A G E S I L A U S.

Archidamus, the Son of Zeuxidamus, having reigned gloriously over the *Lacedaemonians*, left behind him two Sons. *Agis* the Elder, begotten of (1) *Lampito*, a very Noble and Illustrious Lady, and *Agefilaus*, much the Younger, born of *Eupolia*, the Daughter of *Melisippidas*. Now the Crown belonging to *Agis* by Law, *Agefilaus*, who in all probability was to be but a private Man, was educated according to the usual Discipline of the Country, which was very hard and severe, but such as taught young Men how to obey their Superiors. Whence it was that (Men say) *Simonides* called *Sparta* the *Tamer of Men*, because by a customary Strictness of

(1) Thus it ought to be written, as we find it in the first *Alcibiades* of Plato. This *Lampito* was the Daughter of *Leotychidas*, and consequently the Sister of *Archidamus* to whom she was married, but Sister by the Father's Side only.

Educa-

Education, they inured the Citizens to Obedience to the Laws, and made them patient of Subjection, as Horses are broke from Colts. (1) The Law did not hold so strict a Rein on the Heirs apparent of the Crown: But *Agefilaus*, whose good Fortune it was to be born a younger Brother, was consequently bred to all the *Laconick* Arts of Obedience, and thereby fitted for the Management of the Government, when it fell to his share: Hence it was that he became the most popular of the *Spartan* Kings, having learned how to temper the Grandeur of a Royal Condition, with a settled Sweetness, Humanity and Complacency, to which he had been formed by his Education.

While he was yet a Boy, bred up in one of the Schools or Colleges of Youth, he was the Beloved of *Lyfander*, who much admired that generous Modesty and ingenuous Shame which he found in him: For tho' he was one of the highest Spirit, and fullest of Bravery of any of his Companions, always ambitious of Preheminence above them, towards which the impetuous Vigour and invincible Fervor of his Mind irresistably carried him, maugre all Opposition or Difficulty he could meet with; yet on the other Side he was so easy and gentle in his Nature, and so apt to hearken to all rational and

(1) By This We see they had for a long time softened, or mitigated the Discipline observed in the Education of Princes, whom the right of Inheritance would one day call to the Throne. But what is most surprising is, that *Sparta* should be an Example of such Relaxation, and that a City so austere and rigid should have abated of the Strictness of Discipline in favour of those Princes who were to reign over her. She ought more especially to have sub-

jected Them to it, since she could not but know by Experience that They who had undergone the Rigour of it, and had learned how to obey before they were called to command, knew best how to accommodate themselves to the Interest of their Subjects, and could add to the noble Inclinations they received from Nature, the Benignity, Meekness, and Humanity which were owing to their Education.

friendly

friendly Proposals, that a good Word wrought more upon him than the greatest dint of Force; he being ready to do any thing upon ingenuous Motives, but nothing upon Compulsion.

He had one Leg shorter than the Other; which Deformity he easily hid by a good Mien, and Briskness in his Behaviour, being the first always to pass a Jest upon Himself. And indeed it was a strong Argument of his Love to Glory and great Actions, that his Lameness was no Discouragement to him in the Pursuit of them. Neither his Statue nor Picture are extant, he never allowing them in his Life, and utterly forbidding them to be made after his Death: He is said to have been a little Man, of a contemptible Presence; but the goodness of his Humour, and his constant Chearfulness, and agreeable Conversation, always free from any thing of Moroseness or Haughtiness, made him more amiable, (even to his old Age) than the most beautiful Men of the Nation. (1) However the *Lacedæmonians* had a sort of Aversion to People of a low Stature; for *Theophrastus* writes, that the *Ephori* laid a Fine upon *Archidamus*, for marrying a little Wife: For (said they) *she will bring us a Race of Kinglets, instead of Kings.*

Whilst *Agis*, the elder Brother, reigned, *Alcibiades* (being then an Exile from *Athens*) came from *Sicily* to *Sparta*; nor had he been long there, before his Familiarity with *Timæa* the Queen grew suspected, insomuch that *Agis* refused to own a Child of Hers, declaring publickly that *Alcibiades*, and not He, was the Father. Nor (if we may be-

(1) This Aversion was not without some Foundation. We find that God himself when he was pleased to give his People a King said unto all the People, see ye Him to rule over them made choice of Saul, than Whom there was not among the Children of Israel a good-
lier Person: from his Shoulders upward he was higher than any of the People, 1 Sam. ix. 2. And Samuel said unto all the People, see ye Him whom the Lord hath chosen, that there is none like him among all the People. x. 24.

The LIFE of

lieve *Duris* the Historian) was *Timæa* much concerned at it, being her self forward enough to whisper among her Servants, that the Infant's true Name was *Alcibiades*, not *Leotychides*. The same Historian adds, that *Alcibiades* himself did not scruple to say, *That he had not solicited Timæa out of a Wantonness of Desire, but from an honest Ambition of having his Posterity Kings of Sparta.* This Affair being grown publick, it was time for *Alcibiades* to withdraw himself: But the Child *Leotychides* had not the Honours due to a Legitimate Prince paid him, nor was he ever own'd by *Agis*, 'till by his Prayers and Tears he prevail'd with him to declare him his Son before Witnesses upon his Death-Bed. But This could not fix him on the Throne of *Agis*; after whose Death, *Lysander*, the great *Lacedæmonian* Captain, who had lately conquered the *Athenians* in a Sea-fight, and was of great Power in *Sparta*, did promote *Agefilaus* to the Kingdom, urging *Leotychides*'s Bastardy, as a Bar to his Pretensions.

Many of the *Spartans*, charm'd with *Agefilaus*'s Virtue, and reckoning it no small Advantage to have a King on the Throne, who had been educated among them, and had undergone with them all the Hardships and Severities of the *Lacedæmonian* Discipline, were soon brought to declare for him.

There was at that time in *Sparta* a certain Fortune-teller named *Diopithes*, a Man well versed in the ancient Prophecies, and held in great Esteem among them for his Skill in Divination. He declared openly that it was not lawful for them to make a lame Man King of *Lacedæmon*, (1) citing to that purpose the following Oracle:

(1) In truth this Oracle is very exprefs, and pat to the Purpose. I am perswaded that the Conjurers of those times had Collections of Oracles to which they made such occasional Additions as would	best answer the Matter in hand, as they do now-a-days add new Centuries to Those of <i>Nostradamus</i>; which was much easier for Them to do, than it is for our Modern Prophets.
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Great

*Great is thy Empire, Sparta, yet beware
Lest thy Strength bend under an halting Heir ;
Then Ills untry'd shall thy old Honour stain,
And War's destructive Rage thro' thy whole Coun-
try reign.*

But *Lysander* was not wanting of an Evasion, al-
ludging, that if the *Spartans* made any Conscience
of the Oracle, they must have a care of *Leotychi-
des*; for it was not the limping Foot of a King that
the Gods were offended at, (1) but the bastardizing
of the *Herculean* Family, into whose Rights if a
spurious Issue were admitted, it would make the
Kingdom to halt indeed. (2) *Agésilau*s likewise al-
luded,

(1) This Explication of *Lysan-
der's* is very ingenious, and might
pass current; but in truth it is con-
trary to the Letter of the Oracle,
which in expresse Terms forbids a
lame Reign, *χωλὴ βασιλεία*, and
*Agésilau*s was lame. *Plutarch* will
give us his Opinion upon this Fact
when we come to the Compari-
son; but That which is surprizing
is, that neither the *Lacedemonians*
nor *Plutarch* perceiv'd that this
Oracle might be taken in a Sense
quite different from That which
was given it by either of the con-
tending Parties, and which was
first discovered by *M. Le Fevre* in
his Notes upon *Justin* lib. vi. The
Oracle saith, *Do Thou, who hast
hitherto walked so well upon both
thy Feet, beware that thou dost not
fall under a lame Reign.* The
Drift of the Oracle was not to ex-
clude *Agésilau*s from the Throne
because he was lame, nor *Leoty-
chides* because he was illegitimate,
but to warn the *Lacedemonians* a-
gainst suffering themselves to be
governed by a single Person, They

had hitherto been constantly ruled
by two Kings descended from
Hercules. Those are the two Feet
that supported them. But if instead of
Two they should ever come to have
no more than One, that is no more
than one King, they are undone;
for that Power which is meek and
gentle whilst it is participated by
Two, will grow formidable when
united in One Person, and en-
able him to play the Tyrant with
them. And for this Reason the
Oracle adviseth them to walk still
upon Both their Legs. It is not
to be understood of a lame or ille-
gitimate Prince, but of a lame
Reign, that is of a Monarch, or
single Person. This Interpretation is
natural, and exactly to the Purpose.

(2) All This is taken out of the
third Book of *Xenophon's* Grecian
History, where it is said *Agésilau*s
opposed *Leotychides* with three in-
vincible Arguments. First, *Agis*
has declared that you are not his
Son. Secondly, *Your Mother Her-*
self, who ought to know best, saith
even now that Agis was not you Fa-
ther,

ledged, That the Bastardy of *Leotychides* was attested by *Neptune*, who threw *Agis* out of Bed from his Wife by a violent Earthquake, after which time he did not cohabit with her, yet *Leotychides* was born above ten Months after it. *Agefilaus* was upon these Allegations declared King, and soon possessed himself of the private Estate of *Agis*, as well as his Throne, *Leotychides* being wholly rejected as a Bastard. Which being done, he cast his Eye on the Kindred of *Agis* by the Mother's side, whom he considered as Persons of good Worth and Virtue, but very poor: He gave them half his Brother's Estate, and by this popular Act gained the Good-will, not of Them only, but of the *Spartans* in general, and stifled that Envy that was growing against him upon the account of his Succession. *Xenophon* saith of him, That by complying with, and as it were being ruled by his Country, he grew into so great Power with them, that he could do what he pleased. (1) Now the chief Power was lodged in the Hands of the *Ephori* and Senate; The *Ephori* was annually chosen, but the Senators held their Places during Life; Both instituted

ther; and in the third Place, *Neptune* also is an Evidence against You; for having one Night forced *Agis* out of Bed by the violent shock of an Earthquake, the King abstained from her for ten Months together, and You was born after the Expiration of that Term.

(1) The Senate was established by *Lycurgus*, and being by that Constitution twenty eight in Number, They with the Kings made up an Assembly of thirty Magistrates. This Senate was a Barrier planted between the Kings and the People; for they sided with the People when the Kings aimed at being absolute, and joined with the Kings when the People grew

too ungovernable, so that they were a sort of Counterpoise, and kept the Balance even. But in process of time the Power of these thirty Magistrates grew too exorbitant, which made the *Spartans* put a Check upon them, and restrain them by a new Authority of Officers called *Ephori*, established about a Hundred and thirty Years after the Institution of *Lycurgus*: Thus the Senate was contrived to moderate the too absolute Power of the Kings, and the too great Licentiousness of the People; and the *Ephori* to restrain the over-grown Power both of the One, and the Other.

as Bridles to restrain the too absolute Power of the Kings, as it is already more fully discoursed in the Life of *Lycurgus*. Hence it was that the Kings of old retain'd an hereditary Aversion to that Body, and were always at Variance with them. But *Agessilaus* took another Course; instead of contending with them, he courted them: He always acted by their Advice, was always ready to go, nay almost run, when they called him: If he were upon his Throne hearing of Causes, and the *Ephori* came in, he arose to them: Whenever any Man was elected into the Senate, he always presented him with a Gown and an Ox, as signal Marks of Distinction which he thought due to his Virtue. (1) Thus, whilst he craftily made shew of Reverence to Them, and a Deference to their Power, he secretly advanced his Own, and strengthened the Prerogative by a Grandeur so much the more firm and lasting, as it was the Effect of their Good-will, and Friendship to his Person. To other Citizens he so behaved himself, as to be less blameable in his Enmities than in his Friendships: For towards his Enemy he behaved himself generously, scorning to take any unjust Advantage against him; but to his Friends he was partial, even in things manifestly unjust. If an Enemy had done any thing Praiseworthy, he scorned to retract from his due Praises; but his Friends he knew not how to reprove

(1) This in my Opinion is a very remarkable, and judicious Reflection. *Plutarch* thinks that when a Prince augments the Dignity of the Senators he enlargeth his own Power; for as the Authority he confers on Them is no other than an Emanation of his Own, so that Act of Grace and Favour wins to him such a Good-will and Benevolence, as will prove the strongest and most inviolable Support of his Throne. It has been observed in the Life of *Marcus Antoninus*, that That Emperor, like *Augustus*, was persuaded that as much as a Prince augmented the Dignity of the chief Magistrates he so much strengthened his own Authority, which is not, nor can it be establish'd on any other Foundation than That of Justice.

when they did ill; nay, he would eagerly join with them, and assist them in their Outrages: For he thought all Offices of Friendship commendable, let the Matter wherein they were employed be what it will. When any of his Adversaries were under a Misfortune, he was the first to pity them, and let them know the Share he bore in their Sufferings; and if at any time they desired him to assist them, he did it effectually, by which means he became exceeding Popular, and allured the Hearts of all Men: Insomuch that his Popularity grew at last suspected by the *Ephori*, who fined him as a Monopolizer of the Citizens, who ought to be the Common Goods of the Republick. For as it is the Opinion of Philosophers, (1) that if you take away Strife and Opposition out of the Universe, all the Heavenly Bodies will stand still, Generation and Motion will cease, by reason of the mutual Consent and Agreement of all things: So the *Spartan* Legislator did seem to have mingled Ambition and Emulation among the Ingredients of his Commonwealth, as the Incentives of Virtue, as thinking that mutual Compliance, in winking at one another, in Cases that deserved Rebuke, was but a false sort of Concord, no way useful to the Publick, but rather a Corruption of it. This some Men think *Homer* to have had an Eye to, when he introduceth (2) *Agamemnon* well pleased with

(1) For the opposite Qualities of the Elements serve as a Counterpoise, and preserve that Equilibrium, which is so absolutely necessary to the whole Fabrick. For which Reason One of the Ancients has called War the Mother of all Things, ἀπάντων μήτηρ. And is That which *Horace* calleth *Rerum Concordia discors*. Epist. xii. lib. i.

(2) It is in the Eighth Book

of the *Odyssey*, where the Poet mentions the Song sung by *Demosdocus*, at a *Pheacian* Repast, reciting the famous Dispute between *Ulysses* and *Achilles* in the midst of a Banquet, about the proper Measures to be observed for the Reduction of *Troy*. *Achilles* was for making Use of Force, and *Ulysses* was for Stratagem.

the Jars of *Ulysses* and *Achilles*, and with the hard Words that passed between them; which he would never have done, unless he had thought that Dissentions and Factions of great Men had been of use to the State. Yet this Maxim is not simply to be granted him without Restriction, for if the Heats grow too great, they are very dangerous to Cities, and of most pernicious Consequence.

Agefilaus was hardly entered upon the Government, when News came from *Asia*, that the *Persian* King was making great Naval Preparations, resolving with an high Hand to dispossess the *Spartans* of their Maritime Greatness. *Lyfander* was glad of this Opportunity of succouring his Friends in *Asia*, whom he had there left Governors and Lords of Cities, who for their Male-administration and Tyrannical Behaviour had been deposed, and Many of them put to death: He therefore persuaded *Agefilaus* to undertake the Expedition, and by translating the War from *Greece* into *Persia*, prevent the Designs of the *Barbarian*. He also wrote to his Friends in *Asia*, that by a solemn Embassy they should demand *Agefilaus* for their Captain. *Agefilaus* thereupon coming into the publick Assembly, offered his Service, upon Condition that he might have thirty Eminent *Spartans* for Captains and Counsellors; that he might also have two thousand of the newly Enfranchized *Helots*, and of other Allies to the Number of six thousand. *Lyfander's* Authority and Assistance soon obtained his Request, so that he was sent away with the thirty *Spartans*, of which *Lyfander* was the Chief, not only in Power and Reputation, but also in Friendship with *Agefilaus*, who esteemed his procuring him this Charge a greater Obligation than that of preferring him to the Kingdom.

Whilst the Army was drawing to the Rendezvous at *Gerastrus*, *Agefilaus* went with some of his

Friends to *Aulis*, (1) where in a Dream he saw a Man approach him, and speak to him after this manner: O King of the Lacedæmonians, you cannot but know that 'till now no one ever was declar'd Captain-General of the Greeks but Agamemnon; and since you succeed him in the same Office, and Command of the same Men, since you war against the same Enemies, and begin your Expedition from the same Place, You ought also to offer such a Sacrifice as He offered before he weigh'd Anchor.

Agefilaus soon remembred that the Sacrifice which *Agamemnon* offered was his own Daughter, he being so directed by the Oracle. Yet was he not at all disturbed at it, but as soon as he arose, he told his Dream to his Friends, adding withal, (2) that he would worship the Goddess with such Sacrifices as would be acceptable to her as a Goddess, and not imitate the rude Barbarity of that General. He therefore ordered an Hind to be crowned with Chaplets, and delivered to his own Southsayer, resolving that the Person, who, according to the Custom of the Country, had been named by the *Bæotians* to that Office, should not have the Honour of performing it. When the *Bæotian* Governors understood it, they were very much moved, and sent Officers to *Agefilaus*, to forbid his Sacrificing contrary to the Laws of the County. These having deliver'd their Message to him, immediately went to the Altar, and threw down the Quarters of the Hind that lay upon it. *Agefilaus* took this very ill,

(1) This Dream was owing to the Desire he had of sacrificing in *Aulis* as *Agamemnon* had done before him, which he thought would make the Honour hereceived from *Greece* more remarkable, and distinguishing.

(2) *Agefilaus* makes a right Judgment here both of the Nature

of God, and of *Agamemnon's* Folly. God does not require human Sacrifices, and *Agamemnon* in offering up his Daughter was imposed upon by false Nations, without distinguishing between what was criminal, and what was innocent. *Horace* has handled this Subject finely. *Sat. iii. Lib. ii.*

and

and without further Sacrifice immediately hoisted Sail, being highly displeased with the *Bæotians*, and much discouraged in his Mind at the bad Omen, boading to himself an unsuccessful Voyage, and a bad Issue of the whole Expedition.

When he came to *Ephesus*, he found the Power and Interest of *Lyfander* grow to an intolerable height; all Applications were made to Him, great Crowds of Suitors always attended at His Door, all Men following and worshipping Him at so high a rate, as if nothing but the Name of Emperor were left to *Agefilaus*, the whole Power and Authority being committed by the *Spartans* to *Lyfander*. None of all the Commanders that had been sent into *Asia*, was either so powerful or so formidable as He; no one had rewarded his Friends better, or had been more severe against his Enemies. Which things having been lately done, made the greater Impression in Mens Minds, especially since they observed the deboniar and popular behaviour of *Agefilaus*, whereas That of *Lyfander* was high and rigid. He took Men up short, and by that fierceness of Carriage so subdued their Spirits, that they wholly submitted to Him, giving little regard to *Agefilaus*. This was first stomached by the other Captains, who with Indignation resented it, that they should rather seem the Officers of *Lyfander*, than the Counsellors of *Agefilaus*.

At length *Agefilaus* Himself, though no envious Man in his Nature, but well pleased to see Honour confer'd on Merit where-ever he found it, yet being highly jealous of his own Glory, full of Courage and Ambition, began to apprehend that *Lyfander's* Greatness and Reputation would soon eclipse His, and carry away from Him the Reputation of whatever great Action should happen. He therefore went this way to Work: He first opposed him in all his Counsels; whatever *Lyfander* advised,

advised, was rejected, and other Proposals followed. Whoever made any Address to Him, if he found him a Retainer to *Lysander*, certainly lost his Suit. Nay even in judicial Matters, They who were not in *Lysander's* Interest were sure to gain their Cause; and Whoever was visibly favoured by Him, was used with all Severity and Rigour. These things being not done by Chance, but constantly and on set purpose, *Lysander* was soon sensible of them, and stuck not to tell his Friends, That they suffered for his sake, bidding them apply themselves to the King, and Such as were more powerful with him than He was. Which Sayings of his, when they seemed to be designed purposely to procure Envy to *Agésilas*, he stuck not to affront *Lysander* at a higher rate, imposing upon him the Office of dividing the Flesh among the Soldiers, and would in publick Companies speak scornfully of him, bidding them to go and pay their Observances to his Suttler. *Lysander*, no longer able to brook these Indignities, complained at last to *Agésilas* himself, telling him, *that He knew better than any one how to undervalue his Friends. To which Agésilas* reply'd, *I know Who they are that pretend to more Power than My self. That,* reply'd *Lysander,* *is rather said by You, than done by Me; I desire only this Favour of you, that you will assign me some Office and Place, in which I may serve you without incurring your Displeasure.*

Upon this *Agésilas* sent him to the *Hellepont* on an Embassy, whence he procured (1) *Spithridates* a *Persian* of the first Rank in the Province of *Pharnabazus*, to come to the Assistance of the *Greeks* with two hundred Horse, and a great Supply of Money. Yet was his Heart full of Resentment for the In-

(1) So was that *Persian* called, corrected, as it is in several Manuscripts, and not *Mithridates* as it stands in the Text, where it ought to be

dignities he had received, so that he enter'd into a Design (1) of wresting the Kingdom out of the Hands of the two Families which then enjoy'd it, and making it wholly elective, thereby leaving the Throne open to any *Spartan* who had Merit enough to pretend to it. And it is thought he would have been the Author of great Commotions in the State, if he had not died in the Expedition into *Bœotia*. Thus ambitious Spirits are apt to grow troublesome in a Common-wealth, and when they transgress their Bounds, do more Harm than Good. Of which this Quarrel between such two great Men is an Example: For though *Lysander's* Pride was unsufferable, and his ambitious Projects very inconvenient to *Agésilau's* Affairs, yet might the King have found out many ways of taming him, less reproachful to a Man of his Merit and Reputation, whose greatest Fault was his Ambition. Indeed in my Opinion they were Both equally guilty, Both blinded with the same Passion, so as the One wou'd not acknowledge the Allegiance due to his Prince, nor the Other bear with the Imperfections of his Friend.

Tisaphernes being at first afraid of *Agésilau*, concluded a Truce with him, and led him with Hopes that the King his Master would relinquish to him the *Græcian* Cities, and set them at Liberty. But soon after finding a sufficient Force drawn together, he resolved upon War, (2) for which *Agésilau*

(1) They found among his Papers after his Death this Project digested, and drawn up in Form, together with a Speech he was to make to the People in order to induce them to make the Kingdom elective, as *Plutarch* tells us in the Life of *Lysander*. There were no more than two Families

in *Sparta* who had a Right to the Crown, the *Eurytionida*, and *Agida*. Both descended from *Hercules*, the First by *Eurytion* the Son of *Soüs*, and the other by *Agis* the Son of *Eurysthene*s.

(2) All his Officers were exceedingly concerned at it, for they thought, they had not a Strength sufficient

The L I F E of

filaus was overjoyed. For the Expectation of this Expedition was great, and he did not think it for his Honour, that *Xenophon* with ten thousand Men should march through the Heart of *Asia* to the Sea, beating the *Persian* Forces when and how he pleased, and that *Agésilauſ*, in the Head of a *Spartan* Army, (who then commanded both at Sea and Land) should raise no Monument of his Fame by any great Action. Therefore to be even with *Tiſaphernes*, he revenged his Perjury by a Stratagem. He pretended to march into *Caria*, whither when he had drawn *Tiſaphernes* and his Army, he ſuddenly turned back, and fell upon *Phrygia*, taking many of their Cities, and carrying away great Booty. Upon this occaſion he gave his Friends to underſtand, that to break ſolemn Leagues and betray their Faith, was a downright Contempt of the Gods; but to out-wit, or circumvent an Enemy in War, was not only juſt but honourable, very agreeable as well as advantageous.

Being weak in Horſe, and withal terrify'd by ſome ill Omen in the Sacrifices, (*viz.* a Calf's Liver wanted that little Lobe which the Southſayers call the Head) he retired to *Ephesus*, where he declared to Thoſe that were wealthy, and eaſy in their Circumſtances, that if they were not inclin'd to follow him, and ſerve in Perſon, he wou'd excuſe them upon their finding each of them a Man well arm'd and mounted. A great many of them accepted of the Propoſition; ſo that inſtead of a parcel of unſerviceable Foot, he ſoon found his Army ſtrengthened with many Regiments of

ſufficient to withſtand the formidable Forces of the King of <i>Persia</i> ; but <i>Agésilauſ</i> on the contrary was highly pleaſed with it; he received the Ambaſſadors from <i>Tiſaphernes</i> with a gay Countenance,	and ordered them to tell their Maſter that he was much obliged to him, for that by this Violation of his Oath he had made the Gods Enemies to <i>Persia</i> , and Friends to the Grecians.
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Horſe

Horse well appointed, and fit for Service: For Those that were not good at Fighting Themselves, hired Such as were more martial in their Inclinations, and Such as loved not Horse-service, substituted in their Rooms Such as did. He professed in This (1) to imitate the laudable Example of *Agamemnon*, who took the Present of an excellent Mare, to dismiss a rich Coward from the Army.

When by *Agésilau's* his Order, the Prisoners he had taken in *Phrygia* were exposed to sale, they were first stripped of their Garments, and then sold naked. The Cloaths found many Customers to buy them, but the Bodies being, by the Ease they had always lived in, render'd white and tender-skinned, were derided and scorned as unserviceable. *Agésilau's*, who stood by at the Auction, told his *Grecians*, *These are the Men against Whom ye fight, and Those are the Things for Which ye fight.*

The Season of the Year being come, he boldly gave out, that he would invade *Lydia*; which Plain-dealing of His was mistaken for a Stratagem by *Tisaphernes*, who by not believing *Agésilau's*, having been already deceived by him, over-reach'd Himself. He expected that he should have made choice of *Caria*, as a rough Country, not fit for Horse, in which he deemed *Agésilau's* to be weak, and directed his own Marches accordingly. But when to his great Suprize he found him to be as good as his Word, and that he was entered into the Plains of *Sardis*, he then was forced to quicken his March, that he might arrive in time to the Relief of that important Place. As he came up

(1) *Plutarch* has taken This from going to the War; and be from the twenty third Book of the *Iliad*, where *Homer* saith *Echepolus* the Son of *Anchises* the *Grecian* gave *Agamemnon* a fine Mare, that he might be excused from going to the War; and be allowed to idle away his time in the full Enjoyment of those Pleasures that abounded in the City of *Sicyon*. Thus *Homer* exposeth the base cowardly Spirit of that Prince.

with

with his Cavalry, he cut off several of the Stragglers from *Agefilaus* his Army, who were roaming up and down the Country for Pillage. *Agefilaus* in the mean while considering that the Horse had out-rid the Foot, but that he himself had the whole Body of his own Army entire, made haste to engage them. He mingled his light-armed Foot, that wore Leather Shields, with the Horse, commanding them to begin the Battel, whilst He brought up the heavier-armed Men in the Rear. The Success was answerable to the Design; the *Barbarians* were put to the Rout, the *Græcians* pursued hard, took their Camp, and put Many of them to the Sword. The Consequence of this Victory was very great; for they had not only the Liberty of Foraging the *Persian* Country, and plundering at Pleasure, but also saw *Tisaphernes* pay dearly for all the Cruelty he had shewed the *Greeks*, to whom he was a professed Enemy. For the King of *Persia* soon sent Another to succeed him, named *Tithraustes*, who took off his Head, and proposing an Accommodation to *Agefilaus*, (1) he sent him by his Ambassadors large Sums of Money to induce him to it, and to persuade him to return into *Greece*. *Agefilaus*'s Answer was, That the making of Peace belonged to the *Lacedæmonians*, not to Him; as for Wealth, he had rather see it in his Soldiers Hands than his Own; that the *Græcians* thought it not honourable to enrich themselves with the Bribes of their Enemies, but with their Spoils only. Yet, that he might gratifie *Tithraustes* for the Justice he had done upon *Tisaphernes*,

(1) *Tithraustes* sent his Ambassadors to *Agefilaus*, to let him know that the King his Master having caused the Author of the War to be punished as he deserved, restored the *Greek* Cities in *Asia* to their Liberty, upon Condition that they payed the established Tribute, and that he hoped This Condescension in his Majesty would persuade him to accept the Peace, and return home.

the avowed Enemy of the *Greeks*, he removed his Quarters into *Phrygia*, accepting of thirty Talents towards the Charge of it. Whilst he was upon his March, he received a Patent from the Council of *Sparta*, by which he was constituted Admiral as well as General. He was the first Man on whom the *Spartans* had confer'd that Honour, and indeed no one had so well deserv'd it: For it was agreed on all Hands (as *Theopompus* has somewhere testified in his Writings) that he was a Person of the highest and clearest Reputation of any of his Contemporaries, and yet he chose rather to derive his Grandeur from his Virtue than his Authority. Yet he committed a great Oversight, in preferring (1) *Pisander* to the Command of the Navy, when there were Many at hand both older and wiser, and more experienced Captains; in This not so much consulting the publick Good, as the Gratification of his Kindred, and especially his Wife, whose Brother *Pisander* was.

Having removed his Camp into *Pharnabazus's* Province, he not only met with great plenty of Provisions, but also raised great Sums of Money, and marching on to the Bounds of *Paphlagonia*, he soon drew *Cotys*, the King of it, into a League, to which He of his own accord inclined, out of the Esteem he had of *Agésilau's* Honour and Virtue, which had already wrought so effectually upon *Spithridates*, that he quitted *Pharnabazus's* Service, and join'd *Agésilau*, whom he never quitted, but accompanied him in all his Expeditions, and upon all Occasions. This *Spithridates* had a handsome Boy to his Son named *Megabates*, of whom *Agésilau* was enamoured, also a very beau-

(1) This *Pisander* was his Wife's Brother; and *Xenophon* adds, that he was an ambitious enterprising Man, but incapable of managing any Affair of Consequence, and of taking such Measures as might warrant the Success.

tiful Daughter, that was marriageable. Her *Agefilaus* matched to *Cotys*, and taking of him one thousand Horse, with two thousand light-armed Foot, he returned into *Phrygia*, and there pillaged the Country of *Pharnabazus*, who durst not stand him in the Field, nor yet trust to his Garrisons, but getting his Jewels and rich Commodities together, fluttered up and down with a flying Army, 'till *Spithridates* being joyned with (1) *Erippidas* the *Spartan*, beat him out of all his Holds, and possessed themselves of all the Spoil. Here *Erippidas* being too severe an Enquirer into the Plunder wherewith the *Barbarian* Soldiers had enriched themselves, and forcing them to deliver it up with too much strictness, so disoblighed *Spithridates*, that he changed sides again, and went off with the *Paphlagonians* to *Sardis*. It is said that *Agefilaus* was so sensibly touch'd with nothing that happen'd in the whole course of this Expedition, not only that he had lost the Friendship of a valiant Commander, and with him a considerable part of his Army, but chiefly that he did it with the Disrepute of a sordid Covetousness, of which he always took care to clear both Himself and his Country. Besides these publick Causes, he had a private one, viz. the excessive Love of his Son, which touched him to the quick, yet did he so much endeavour to master, and especially in presence of the Boy, to suppress all Appearance of it, that when *Megabates* address'd himself to salute and kiss him, he declined it. The Youth being much abash'd at the Repulse grew more reserved, and from that time saluted him at a greater Distance, at which *Agefilalus* was

(1) This *Erippidas* was One of the new Council of Thirty, whom the *Spartans* had sent to *Agefilaus* in the second Year of his Command; for that Council was removed an-

nually, and *Erippidas* was placed at the Head of this Second, as *Lysander* had been named First in the former Commission.

much concerned, and repenting his Coyneſs, he pretended to wonder why he did not ſalute him with the like Familiarity as formerly. His Friends about him answered, *You, Sir, are in the fault, You who durſt not the other day ſtand the Kiſs of a pretty Boy, but avoided it as if you had been frighted at him. He might ſoon be perſuaded to come nearer, and accoſt you as formerly, if he was aſſured you would not ſhun him.* Upon this *Ageſilaus* paused a while, and at length answered, *You need not encourage him to a repetition of that Kindneſs; I had rather be Maſter of my ſelf in the refusal of that Kiſs, than ſee all things that are now before mine Eye turned into Gold.* Thus he demeaned himſelf to *Megabates* whiſt he remain'd with him; but ſo ſtrong was his Paſſion for him when he was gone, that I queſtion whether if he had returned, all the Virtue he had could have obliged him to ſuch another Refuſal.

Some time after This, *Pharnabazus* ſought an opportunity of conferring with *Ageſilaus*, which *Apollophanes* of *Cyzicum*, the common Hoſt of them both, procured for him. *Ageſilaus* coming firſt to the appointed Place, ſet himſelf down upon the Graſs under a Tree, lying there in expectation of *Pharnabazus*, who bringing with him ſoft Skins and wrought Carpets to lie down upon, when he ſaw *Ageſilaus's* Poſture, grew aſhamed of his own Proviſions, made no uſe of them, but laid himſelf down upon the Graſs alſo, though he had a fine delicate richly-dyed Coat on, which was like to loſe much of its Beauty by the Action. *Pharnabazus* had matter enough of Complaint againſt *Ageſilaus*, and therefore after the mutual Civilities were over, he put him in mind of the great Services he had done the *Lacedæmonians* in the *Attick* War, of which he thought it an ill Recompence, to have his Country thus harracted and ſpoiled by thoſe Men who had been ſo obliged to him. The Spar-

tans that were about *Agésilas* hung down their Heads, as ashamed of the Wrong they had done to their good Alley. But the King briskly answered, *We, O Pharnabazus, when we were in Amity with your Master the Persian, did behave our selves like Friends; now when he hath given us occasion of War, we behave our selves as Enemies. As for You, whose kind Offices we are ready to acknowledge, we look upon you as his Servant; we are fain to do these Outrages upon You, not intending the harm to You, but to Him whom we wound through your sides. But when-ever you will chuse rather to be a Friend to the Græcians, than a Slave of the King of Persia, you may then reckon this Army and Navy to be all at your Command, to defend both You and your Country, together with your Liberties, without which there is nothing honourable, or indeed desirable, among Men. Upon This Pharnabazus discovered his Mind, and answered, If the King sendeth another Governor in my room, and would oblige Me to obey his Orders, (1) I will certainly come over to you; but as long as he trusteth me with the Government, I shall be just to him, and not fail to do my utmost Endeavours in opposing you. Agésilas was taken with the Generosity of this Answer, and shook Hands with him, and (rising) said, (2) How much rather had I have so gallant a Man my Friend than mine Enemy!*

Thus ended the Conference, and *Pharnabazus* retired; but his Son, staying behind, ran up to *A-*

(1) This was so far from being a generous Answer, as *Agésilas* termed it, that nothing could be more dishonourable in a General Officer than to quit the Service of his Prince, because his Master had sent Another to succeed him, and command over him. Possibly it might be allowable in him to quit the Service, but not to enter into Another against him.

(2) This was not All. *Agésilas* added, In the mean time be assured that we will immediately march out of the Provinces under Your Government; and for the future if we must remain in a State of War, so long as there is any Other to keep our Arms in Exercise, we will leave You unmolested. *Zen. Lib. iv.* This in my Opinion ought not to have been omitted.

Agésilas,

Agésilas, and said with a Smile, *Agésilas*, I this day contract with you the sacred Ties of Hospitality; and in Confirmation of that Union presented him with a Javelin which he had in his Hand. *Agésilas* received it, and being much taken with the good Mien and Gallantry of the Youth, looked about to see if there were any thing in his Train fit to offer him in Return; and observing the Horse of *Adæus*, his Secretary, to have very fine Trappings on, he took them off, and bestowed them upon the young Gentleman. Nor did his Kindness rest there, but he was ever after mindful of him, in-
somuch that when he was driven out of his Country by the Injury of his Brethren, and lived an Exile in *Peloponnesus*, he took great care of his Maintenance, and not only so, but also condescended to assist him in his Amours. For he happened to fall in Love with a Youth of *Athens*, who had been bred up to his Exercises, in order to contend for the Prize in the *Olympick Games*, but as he was well grown, (1) and past the usual Age of those Champions, he had like to have been refused when he offered himself to be entered among the other Competitors. Hereupon the young Prince applied himself to *Agésilas*, who undertook the Business for him, solicited it as if it had been his own Case, and with much difficulty carried it. He was in all other things a Man of great and exact Justice, but when the Case concerned a Friend, to be strait-laced in point of Justice, (he said) was only a colourable pretence of denying him. There is an Epistle written to *Idrieus*, Prince of *Caria*, which is ascribed to *Agésilas*; it is this; *If Nicias be innocent, absolve him; if he be nocent, absolve him upon my account; however be sure to absolve him.* And

(1) For those Champions were superannuated at a certain Age, and excluded out of the Lists,

indeed This is the true Character of *Agésilauſ*, as to his Deportment towards his Friends. Yet was not his Rule without Exception; for ſometimes he conſidered the neceſſity of his own Affairs more than his Friends, of which he once gave a great Example, when upon a ſudden and diſorderly Remove of his Camp, he was forced to leave a ſick Friend behind him; who when he called aloud after him, and implored his Help, *Agésilauſ* turning back, ſaid, *What an hard thing is it to be merciful and wiſe too?* This Story is delivered by *Hieronymus* the Philoſopher.

Another Year of the War being ſpent, *Agésilauſ* his Fame ſtill increaſed, inſomuch that the *Persian* King received daily Informations concerning his many Virtues, and the great Eſteem the World had of his Continency, his Candour and Moderation. When he made any Journey with his private Train, he would uſually take up his Lodging in a Temple, and there make the Gods Witneſſes of his moſt private Actions, with which Others would ſcarce permit Men to be acquainted. In ſo great an Army, you ſhould ſcarce find a common Soldier lye on a courſer Mattreſs, or fare more hardly than *Agésilauſ*; he was ſo inured to the varieties of Heat and Cold, that Both ſeemed natural to him. The *Greeks* that inhabited *Asia*, were much pleaſed to ſee the great Dons of *Persia*, with all the Pride, Cruelty and Luxury, in which they lived, vail Bonnet to a Man in a poor Thread-bare Cloak, and to be governed by a Word or Nod, or a *Laconick* Sentence out of his Mouth. It put them in mind of that Verſe in *Timotheus*,

Mars is the Tyrant, Græcia fears not Gold.

Many Parts of *Asia* now revolting from the *Persian*, *Agésilauſ* took order with ſeveral of the Cities, and compoſed the Differences of divers of the Republicks,

publicks, without so much as a drop of Blood spilt, or the Banishment of one single Person. By these means having rendered himself every where popular, he resolved to quit the Sea-side, and to march further up into the Country, and to attack the King of *Persia* Himself in the midst of his Enjoyments in his Cities of *Susa* and *Ecbatane*; not willing to let that Monarch sit idle in his Chair, whilst he made War by his Lieutenants, and by his Money corrupted the Demagogues of *Greece*. But these great Thoughts were interrupted by unhappy News from *Sparta*; *Epicdydas* being sent by the *Ephori* to remand him home, to assist his own Country, which was then involved in a great War.

*Greece to herself doth a Barbarian grow;
When Others cou'd not, doth herself o'erthrow.*

What better can we say of those Civil Wars, and intestine Broils, which destroyed the Fortune of *Greece*, and called her back from her full Career of Victory over the *Barbarians*, only to sheath her Sword into her own Bowels? For I do by no means assent to *Demaratus* of *Corinth*, who said, *That those Græcians were deprived of a great Satisfaction, who did not live to see Alexander sit in the Throne of Darius.* (1) That Sight should rather have drawn Tears from them, when they considered, that they had left that Glory to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*, whilst They spent all their own great Commanders, in playing them upon each other in the Fields of *Leuctra*, *Coronea*, *Corinth* and *Arcadia*.

(1) This is finely imagined. For which she sacrificed in her Civil Wars? She would then have left in truth what would not *Greece* have been if she had employed against the *Barbarians* those brave Troops, those Heroick Generals, no room for *Alexander's* Exploits, or Triumphs.

Nothing was greater or braver than the Behaviour of *Agésilas* on this occasion, nor can a nobler Instance be found in Story, of a ready Obedience and just Deference to the Orders of the Senate. *Annibal*, though in a bad condition Himself, and almost driven out of *Italy*, yet stormed and raged when he was called home to serve his Country. *Alexander* made a Jest of the Battel between *Agis* and *Antipater*, the Success of which required his looking back into his own Country, laughing and saying, *Whilst we are fighting Darius in Asia, it seems there is a Battel of Mice in Arcadia.* Happy *Sparta*, mean-while, in the great Justice and Modesty of *Agésilas*, and in the Deference he paid to the Laws of his Country; who immediately upon receipt of his Orders, (though in the midst of his good Fortune, and in full hope of great and glorious Success) (1) left his Work unfinished, and instantly departed, leaving his Friends in *Asia* very sorrowful for the loss of him. Which great Kindness and Fidelity of His, that had obliged so many to him in *Asia*, did sufficiently confute the Saying of *Demaratus* the *Pheacian*, *That the Lacedæmonians excelled in their publick Transactions and just maintaining of Leagues, but the Athenians were better Observers of private Friendship.* For approving himself an excellent King and General, he likewise shewed himself to be a desirable Friend, and agreeable Acquaintance.

(1) This is an Expeffion in *Homer*, ἀτελευτήτω ἐπὶ ἔργῳ. *Iliad.* iv. Ver. 175. and is Part of *Agamemnon's* Speech to his Brother upon the Occasion of his being wounded. *Plutarch* often intersperseth in his Writings some Sentences, or Expressions out of the Poets, particularly *Homer*, which wonderfully embellish his Style, and cannot but give a great Pleasure to Those, who are capable of distinguishing them.

The Coin of *Persia* was stamped on one Side with the Figure of an Archer; which made *Agessilaus* say, *That a thousand Persian Archers had driven him out of Asia*; meaning the Money that was laid out in Bribing the Demagogues, (1) and the Orators in *Thebes* and *Athens*, whereby those two Republicks were incited to a War with *Sparta*.

Having cross'd the *Hellepont*, he marched by Land through *Thrace*, not begging or entreating a Passage any where, only he sent his Envoys to them, to demand *whether they would have him pass as a Friend or as an Enemy*. All the rest received him as a Friend, and used him with all Civility: But the *Trallians* (of whom *Xerxes* is said to have bought his Passage) demanded a Price of him, *viz.* a hundred Talents of Silver, and a hundred of his Women. *Agessilaus* made no Reply to so impertinent a Demand, only by way of Irony, he asked Those who had been sent to make it, *Why their Masters were not come with them to receive it?* In the mean time he marched on against them, and finding them drawn up in order to oppose him, he attacked them, put them to flight, and slew great numbers of them. He sent the like Embassy to the King of *Macedonia*, who reply'd, *He would take time to deliberate: Why then let him deliberate*, said *Agessilaus*, *we will go forward in the mean time*. The *Macedonian* being surprized and daunted at the Resolution of the *Spartan King*, fairly sent him a Compliment, and let him pass. When he came into *Thessaly*, he wasted the Country, because they were in League with the Enemy. He sent *Xenocles* and *Scytha* to *Larissa*, to persuade them to join

(1) *Xenophon* tells us that *Tisiranistes* sent *Timocrates* of *Rhodes*, with fifty Talents into *Greece*, which he distributed at *Thebes*,

Argos, and *Corinth*; but he adds, that *Athens* had no Share in that Distribution.

with the *Spartans*; whom when the *Larissæans* had laid hold of, and put into Custody, the Army was enraged, and advised the Siege of the Town; but the King answered, *That he valued Either of those Men at more than the whole Country of Theffaly.* He therefore made Terms with them, and received his Men again upon Composition. Nor need we wonder at that Saying of *Agésilæus*, for when some time before News was brought him of a great Battel fought near *Corinth*, wherein many brave Men fell on both sides, but that the Loss of the Enemy was infinitely greater than That of the *Spartans*; he appeared not in the least pleased, or elated with the Victory, but with a great Sigh cryed out, *O Grece, how many gallant Men hast thou with thy own Hands destroyed, which if they had been preserved to so good an use, might have conquered all Persia!* Yet when the *Pharsalians* grew troublesom to him, by pressing upon his Army, and incommoding his Passage, he drew out five hundred Horse, and in Person fought and routed them, setting up a Trophy at *Narthacium*. He valued himself much upon that Victory, that with so small a number of his own training, he had vanquished an Army of Men, that thought themselves the best Horsemen of *Greece*.

Here *Diphridas*, one of the *Ephori*, met him, and delivered his Message from *Sparta*, which ordered him immediately to make an Inroad into *Bæotia*; which though he thought fitter to have been done at another time, and with greater Force, yet he obeyed the Magistrates. He thereupon told his Soldiers, that the day was come, in which they were to enter upon that Employment, for the Performance of which they were brought out of *Asia*. He sent for two Cohorts of the Army near *Corinth* to his Assistance. The *Lacedæmonians* at home, in
Honour

Honour to him, made Proclamation for Volunteers that would serve under the King, to come in and be lifted. Finding all the young Men in the City ready to offer themselves, they chose fifty of the ablest, and sent them.

Agésilas having gained the *Thermopylae*, and passed quietly thro' *Phocis*, he entered *Bœotia*, and pitched his Tents near *Cheronea*, which was in Amity with *Sparta*. He was hardly encamped (1) before the Sun became eclipsed on a sudden, and at the same time he received melancholy News from the Fleet, importing that *Pisander* had been defeated by *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*, in an Engagement near *Cnidus*, and that He himself was slain. He was much moved at it, both upon his own Account, and That of the Publick. Yet lest his Army, being now near engaging, should meet with any Discouragement, he ordered the Messengers to give out that (2) *Pisander* had obtained a great Victory over the Enemy in an Engagement between the two Fleets; and to make the Story more credible, He himself appeared in publick with a Garland of Flowers on his Head, and returned Thanks for the good News in a solemn Sacrifice, of which he sent Portions to his Friends and Acquaintance.

When he came near to *Coronea*, and was within view of the Enemy, he drew up his Army, and giving the left Wing to the *Orchomenians*, He Himself led the Right. The *Thebans* drew up their Army likewise, forming the right Wing Themselves, and assigning the Left to the *Argives*. *Xenophon* tell us,

(1) This Eclipse has been tabled by the most experienced Astronomers, who fix it to the twenty ninth of *August*, in the third Year of the ninety sixth *Olympiad*, three hundred ninety two Years before the Incarnation.

(2) *Xenophon*, who was at that time present, adds, *but that He fell in the Action*. This Dissimulation and Contrivance, to conceal a great Loss under fictitious and imaginary Advantages in a critical Conjunction, have been frequently put in Practice by the most celebrated Generals.

that

that This was the sharpest Engagement that had happened in all his Time; in which he ought to be believed, for he was in it in Person, fighting near *Agefilaus*, with whom he was returned out of *Asia*.

The first Charge was neither sharp nor lasting; for the *Thebans* soon routed the *Orchomenians*, as *Agefilaus* did the *Argives*. But both Parties being informed of the Condition their left Wings were in, turned Head instantly. *Agefilaus* to oppose the *Thebans*, and the *Thebans* to follow their left Wing, which was retiring towards the *Helicon*. Here *Agefilaus* might have been sure of his Victory without striking a Stroke, if he would have suffered the *Thebans* to pass, and so have charged them in the Rear; (1) but being too high in Mettle, and heated in the Fight, he would not stay the Opportunity, but fell on downright, thinking to bear them down before him. The *Thebans* were not behind him in Courage, so that the Battel was fiercely carried on on both sides, especially near *Agefilaus's* Person, whose new Guard of fifty Volunteers stood him in great stead that Day, and saved his Life. They fought with great Valour, and interposed their Bodies frequently between Him and Danger, yet could they not so preserve him, but that he received many Wounds through his Armour with Lances and Swords, and was with much ado gotten off. They making a Ring about him, guarded him from the Enemy, with the Slaughter of Many, and lost Many of their own number. At length finding it too hard a task to break the Front of the *Theban* Army, they opened their own Files, and let them march thorough, (an Artifice which in the beginning they scorned) ob-

(1) *Xenophon* has taken Care to put a fair Gloss upon this ill Conduct of *Agefilaus*, Lib. iv. p. 405. This Passage in *Plutarch* wants a little to be explained by That in *Xenophon*.

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serving in the mean time the posture of the Enemy, who having made good their Passage, grew careless, as esteeming themselves past Danger. Whereupon they were immediately set upon by the *Spartans*, yet were they not then put to the rout, but marched on to *Helicon*, vapouring, that They, as to Their part of the Army, were not worsted. *Agessilaus*, sore wounded as he was, would not be born to his Tent, 'till he had been first carried about the Field, and had seen the dead Men of his Party carried off in their Armour. In the mean time he was told that Several of the Enemy had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Minerva* the *Ionian*, which stood hard by, and he was desired to declare his Pleasure concerning them. Being a Prince of great Piety and Devotion, he ordered them to be dismiss'd in Safety. Before this Temple stood a Trophy erected by the *Baotians*, for a Victory obtained by them over the *Athenians* under the Conduct of *Sparton*, wherein *Tolmidas* the *Athenian* General was slain.

Next Morning early *Agessilaus*, to make tryal of the *Theban* Courage, whether they had any Mind to a second Encounter, commanded his Soldiers to put Garlands on their Heads, and play with their Flutes, whilst He raised a Trophy in their View, as a Monument for his Victory; but when instead of Fighting, they sent for leave to bury their Dead, he gave it them, and so confirmed to Himself the Victory. After This he went to *Delphi*, to the *Pythian* Games which were then celebrating, at which Feast he assisted, and there solemnly offered to the God the tenth Part of the Spoils he had brought from *Asia*, which amounted to an hundred Talents.

When This was done he returned by Sea to *Sparta*, where the Citizens received him with all Demonstrations of an unfeigned Joy, and were fired with

with Love and Admiration, when they observed his way of Living, which was full of Temperance and Frugality. For, contrary to the Custom of other Generals, he came home the same Man that he went out, having not so learned the Fashions of other Countries, as to forget his Own, much less to nauseate or despise them. He rather honoured all the received Customs of his Country, without changing either the manner of his Supping, or Bathing, or his Wife's Apparel, as if he had never travelled over the *Eurotas*. The like he did by his Household Furniture, his Armour, nay and the very Doors of his House, which were so old, that they might well be thought to be the self-same with (1) Those that had so long ago been set up by *Aristodemus*. And *Xenophon* assures us that his Daughter's Chariot (called the *Canathrum*) was no richer than That of other People. Now this *Canathrum*, whether Chariot, or Chair, was made of Wood, in the shape of a Griffon, or some other Animal of a strange uncommon Figure, on which the Children and young Virgins were carried in Processions. *Xenophon* hath not left us the Name of this Daughter of *Agefilaus*; at which *Dicearchus* is much offended, and seems to be very angry because we know not the Names either of the Daughter of *Agefilaus*, or of *Epaminondas's* Mother. But in the ancient Inscriptions which may be seen at *Sparta*, it appears that *Agefilaus's* Wife was called *Cleora*, and that he had two Daughters

(1) This *Aristodemus* the Son of *Hercules* was the Person who laid the Foundation of the Royal Family in *Sparta*, eleven hundred Years before the Incarnation; So that the Gates of *Agefilaus's* Palace had been standing seven hundred and eight Years, at his Return after the Victory gained at *Charonea*. What a Difference is there betwixt the Manners of that Age, and of Ours! We as often change the Fashions of our Doors, our Chimnies, and our Windows, as we do That of our Cloaths,

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by her, One whose Name was *Apolia*, and the Other *Prolyta*; they likewise to this Day shew You his Spear, which is in nothing different from That of other Men.

Observing that many of his Citizens valued themselves much upon breeding Race-horses for the *Olympick Games*, which He as much despised, as an Ostentation more of Wealth than Virtue, deeming the Victory to be the Horse's, not the Man's; He therefore, to convince the *Gracians* of it, did put his Sister *Synisca* upon keeping a running Horse for that publick Solemnity.

He had near his Person the wise *Xenophon*, whom he infinitely esteemed, and respected. He obliged him to send for his Children to *Sparta*, there to be brought up in the strictest way of Discipline, and learn the most valuable of all Sciences, how to command, and how to obey.

Lyfander being dead, and his Faction yet great and prevalent, which he upon his coming out of *Asia* had raised against *Agessilaus*, the King thought it advisable to expose both Him and It, by shewing what manner of a Citizen he had been whilst he lived. To that end, finding an Oration among his Writings, that was (composed by *Cleon* the *Halicarnassian*, but) intended to be spoken by *Lyfander* in a publick Assembly, to excite the People to Innovations and Changes in the Government, he resolved to publish it, as an Evidence of *Lyfander's* ill Practices. But one of the Senators having the Perusal of it, and finding it strongly written, advised him to have a care of digging up *Lyfander* again, and rather bury that Oration in the Grave with him. This Advice he wisely hearkned to, and suppress the Oration. As for Those who had joined with *Lyfander* against him, and were his declared Enemies, he used no open Means to sup-

suppess them, (1) but on the contrary made use of all his Interest to obtain for them either the Command of the Armies, or some other considerable Post in the Government; wherein he knew they would not fail of giving manifest Instances of their Avarice and Corruption; and if at any time they were called to Account for their Malversations, he solicited for them, and in a manner interposed between Them and Justice, and in so doing brought them over to his Interest, and of avowed Enemies he made them his fast Friends, and Dependants for ever after. So that in a short time there was not One left to oppose his Measures, or make Head against him.

Agefipolis, his Fellow-King, was under the Disadvantage of being Born of an exiled Father, Himself young, modest, and unactive, and meddling not much in Affairs. *Agefilaus* took a course of growing upon him, and making him yet more tractable. According to the Custom of *Sparta*, the Kings if they were in Town always dined together. This was *Agefilaus's* Opportunity of dealing with *Agefipolis*, whom he found apt to amorous Intrigues as well as Himself. He therefore alway discoursed him about handsom Boys, egging him forward that way, and himself assisting in it, so far as to become the Confident of the Amour. Yet were these Amours innocent, according to the Custom of the *Spartan* Loves, which were always accompanied with Virtue and Honour, and a noble Emulation of rendering Those they loved still more amiable and virtuous, as we have already observed in the Life of *Lycurgus*.

(1) But was This acting like a Man of Honour, and a true Patriot, to endeavour to advance wicked Men for the sake of making them his Friends, and skreen

them as much as in Him lay from the Punishments to which they were liable for their Injustice and Corruption?

Having

Having thus established his Power, which was almost absolute in the City, he easily obtained that his half Brother *Telutias* might be chosen Admiral; after which he march'd with his Land Forces (1) and sat down before *Corinth*, where he made himself Master of the long Walls, as they were called, whilst his Brother besieged it by Sea. Coming thus upon the *Argives* (who then held *Corinth*) in the midst of their *Isthmian* Games, he made them retire from their Sacrifices, and leave all their festival Provisions behind them. The exil'd *Corinthians* who were in the *Spartan* Army desired him to keep up the Feast, and to appear Chief in the Celebration of it. This he refused, but gave Them leave to carry on the Solemnity if they pleased, and He in the mean time staid and guarded them. When *Agessilaus* marched off, the *Argives* returned to their Sports again, with this variety of Fortune, that Some who were Victors before, became Victors a second time, and Others lost the Prizes which before they had gained. But *Agessilaus* reproached them severely of Cowardise, who having so great an Esteem for the *Isthmian* Games, and so much valuing themselves upon the Victories there gotten, yet durst not adventure to fight in defence of them. He himself was of Opinion, that to keep a Mean in such things was best, not wholly to despise them, nor to be too intent upon them. Accordingly when he was at *Sparta* he spared no Costs in decorating and adorning the Chorus's, the Shews, and publick Feasts; he honoured them with his Presence, and seemed as much in earnest at them as the most zealous of them All. Nor would he ever be absent from any of the Exercises of the young Men, and the Girls, being most ready to assist, and

(1) *Plutarch* in this Place con- and makes but One of Both. *Xenophon* has distinguished them very
founds two Expeditions underta- clearly in his fourth Book, p. 410.
ken by *Agessilaus* against *Corinth*,
pleased

The LIFE of

pleas'd with his Share in the Diverſion. But for thoſe other Amuſements, in which moſt Men are ſo deeply engaged, he had no reliſh of them, but ſeem'd a perfect Stranger to them. *Callipides* the Tragedian being eminent in that Faculty through all *Greece*, meeting this King, ſaluted him; of which when he found no notice taken, he confidently thruſt himſelf into his Train, expecting that *Ageſilaus* would take ſome Notice, and begin ſome Diſcourſe with him. When all that failed, he boldly accoſted him, and asked him, *Whether he knew him not? What*, (ſaid the King) *art thou Callipides the Scaramouchio?* and ſo turned from him. Being invited once to hear a Man ſing, who did admirably imitate the Nightingale, he reſuſed, and answered, *That he had heard the Nightingale her ſelf*. There was one *Menecrates* a Phyſician in *Laconia*; who having been famed for ſurprizing Succeſs in great and deſperate Diſeaſes, was by way of Flattery called *Jupiter*: He was ſo vain as to take it, and having occaſion to write a Letter to *Ageſilaus*, thus endorſed it: *Menecrates Jupiter to King Ageſilaus, Greeting*. The King returned Answer, *Ageſilaus to Menecrates, Health, and a ſound Mind*.

Whiſt *Ageſilaus* was in the *Corinthian* Territories, where he had taken the Temple of *Juno*, as he ſtood obſerving his Soldiers ſeizing on the Slaves as they came out of the Temple, and carrying off the Plunder, the *Theban* Ambaſſadors came to him to treat of Peace. He having ever had a great Averſion for that City, and thinking it then advantagious to his Affairs publickly to ſlight them, did it ſufficiently, for he would not ſeem either to ſee them, or hear them ſpeak. But as if the expreſs Vengeance of God had appeared againſt this Inſolence, before they parted from him, he received News of the Overthrow of

of one of his Cohorts, by *Iphicrates*, with a greater Slaughter than he had received a long time; and That the more grievous, because it was a choice Regiment of *Lacedæmonians* well armed, but overthrown by a parcel of lighted-armed Mercenaries. *Agésilas* made all the haste he could to their Rescue, but found it too late, the Business being over. He therefore return'd to *Juno's* Temple, and sent for the *Theban* Ambassadors to give them Audience. They now resolved to be even with him for the Affront he gave them, and without speaking one word of the Peace, only desired leave to go into *Corinth*. *Agésilas* being nettled with this Overture, told them in Scorn, (1) *That if they were minded to go and see how proud their Friends were of their Success, they should do it to-morrow with Safety.* Next Morning taking the Ambassadors with him, he spoiled the *Corinthian* Territories, up to the very Gates of the City; where having made a Stand, and let the Ambassadors see, that the *Corinthians* durst not come out to defend themselves, he dismissed them; then gathering up the small Remainers of the shatter'd Cohort, he marched homewards, always removing his Camp before Day, and always pitching his Tents after Night, that he might prevent the *Arcadians*, who hated the *Spartans*, from taking any Opportunity of insulting over their Loss.

(1) The King's Answer appears better, in my Opinion, in *Xenophon*. I know, said he smiling, that you do not desire leave to go into *Corinth*, for the sake of seeing your Soldiers, but that you may be Spectators of the late Success of your Arms. Have but a little Patience, I will conduct you my self, so that you may in my Presence see more clearly the Importance of that Exploit. And, as *Xenophon* adds, he was as good as his Word, for the next Morning, after he had sacrificed, he led his Army towards *Corinth*, &c.

After This, (1) at the Request of the *Achaïans*, he marched with Them into *Acarnania*, from whence he brought great Spoils, and overcame the *Acarnanians* in Battel. The *Achaïans* would have persuaded him to keep his Winter-Quarters there, to hinder the *Acarnanians* from sowing their Corn; but He was of the contrary Opinion, alledging, That they would be more afraid of a War next Summer, when their Fields were sown, than they would be if they lay fallow. The Event justified his Opinion; for next Summer, when the *Achaïans* began their Expedition again, the *Acarnanians* immediately made Peace with them.

When *Conon* and *Pharnabazus* with the *Persian* Navy were grown Masters of the Sea, and had not only infested the Coast of *Laconia*, but also rebuilt the Walls of *Athens* at the Cost of *Pharnabazus*, the *Lacedemonians* thought fit to treat of Peace with the King of *Persia*. To that end, they sent *Antalcidas* to *Teribazus*, (2) basely betraying the poor *Asiatick* Greeks, on whose behalf *Agefilans* had made the War. But no part of this Dishonour fell upon *Agefilans*, the Whole being transacted by *Antalcidas*, who was a bitter Enemy of *Agefilans*, and did therefore urge on the Peace, because *Agefilans* was so

(1) The *Achaïans* were in Possession of the City of *Calydon*, which formerly belonged to *Etolia*. The *Acarnanians* being assisted by the *Athenians* and *Eceotians* had a mind to be Masters of it, and drive out the Garrison placed in it by the *Achaïans*, who finding themselves hard put to it, sent and demanded Succours from the *Lacedemonians*, who dispatched *Agefilans* with some Troops

to their Assistance. *Xenophon* in his fourth Book has given us a full Account of this Expedition.

(2) *Antalcidas* told *Teribazus* in his first Audience, that the *Lacedemonians* would not take upon them to maintain the Liberty of the Greek Cities in *Asia*, in Opposition to the King of *Persia*, but would be contented if the other Cities and Isles remained independent. *Xenoph. lib. iv. p. 420.*

earnest

earnest for continuing the War, it being his Talent, in which he always gain'd Reputation and Authority. Yet as ill as he liked the Peace, when once it was on foot, he promoted it; and being told by way of Reproach, *That the Lacedæmonians were turning Medes*, he reply'd, (1) *No, but the Medes are turning Lacedæmonians*. And when the Græcians were backward to the Agreement, he threatned them with War, unless they came up to the King of Persia's Terms. *Agessilaus* had a particular End in This, which was (2) to weaken the *Thebans*; for it was made one of the Articles of Peace, That the Country of *Bœotia* should be set at liberty, which was then under the Dominion of *Thebes*.

This Picque of His to *Thebes* appeared further afterwards, when *Phæbidas* in full Peace very dishonourably seized upon the Castle of *Cadmea*. The thing was much stomached by all Greece, and not well liked of by the *Laconians* Themselves; Those especially who were Enemies to *Agessilaus*, required an Account of the Action, and by whose Authority it was done, laying the Suspicion of it at His Door. *Agessilaus* resolutely answered, on the behalf of *Phæbidas*, *That the Profitableness of an Action was chiefly to be considered; if what Phæbidas had done was for the Advantage of the Commonwealth, it was no matter by whose Authority he did it*. This was the more remarkable in him, because he was always observed to be a great Lo-

(1) Implying that what the King of Persia was then doing, tended to the Benefit and Advantage of the *Lacedæmonians*.

(2) For the *Thebans* being no longer Masters of *Bœotia*, all the Cities wou'd remain Neuter, or side

with that Party that was most for their Interest, which wou'd very much weaken the Power of the *Thebans*. *Xenophon* has inserted in his fifth Book, p. 430. the Articles of this Peace negotiated by *Antalcidas*.

ver of Justice, (1) and would in his private Discourses commend it as the chief of Virtues, saying, *That Valour without Justice was useless; and if all the World were just, there would be no need of Valour.* When Any would say to him, *The Great King* (meaning the *Persian*) *will have it so;* he would smartly reply, *How is he Greater than I, unless he be Juster?* He took the truly Royal Measure of Greatness, which is to be computed by Justice, not by Force.

The Peace being concluded, the King of *Persia* wrote to *Agefilaus*, desiring a private Friendship and Correspondence; but he refused it, saying, *That the Publick Friendship was enough; whilst That lasted, there was no need of Private.* Yet was he not always of that Mind, it plainly appearing that sometimes out of Ambition, and sometimes out of private Picque, he brake that Rule: Particularly, in this Case of the *Thebans*, he not only saved *Phæbidas*, but persuaded the *Lacedæmonians* to take the Fault upon Themselves, and retain *Cadmea*, putting a Garrison into it, and to make *Archias* and *Leontidas*, by whom the Castle had been betrayed, chief Governors in *Thebes*. This gave strong Suspicion, that what *Phæbidas* did was by *Agefilaus's* Order, which was afterward made evident by the Consequences: For when the *Thebans* had slain the Garrison, and asserted their Liberty, he accused them of the Murther of *Archias* and *Leontidas*, whom he called *Polemarchs*, tho' they were in truth downright Tyrants, and declared War against them. *Cleombrotus* the other King, Successor of *Agefipolis* lately deceased, was sent at the Head of an Army into *Bæotia*; *Agefi-*

(1) *Agefilaus* therefore seems to have been of Opinion that a Statesman ought always to cry up Justice, but not scruple violating it when his Country was to be served by it. This is a strange Principle, and of very pernicious Tendency.

laus excusing himself on account of his Age, for it was forty Years since he had first born Arms, and the Laws consequently exempted him from any farther Service. But there was another Reason, which made him decline the Command. He thought it wou'd be a Shame for Him, who had not long before warr'd upon the *Phlians* in favour of Exiles, should now march against the *Thebans* in behalf of Tyrants.

One *Sphodrias* of *Lacedæmon*, a Person of a contrary Faction to *Agésilæus*, was at that time by the Appointment of *Cleombrotus* Governor of *Theſſiæ*, a brisk daring Man, but one who had more of Courage than Wisdom. This Action of *Phæbidas* fired him, and incited his Ambition to attempt some great Enterprize, which might render Him as famous, as he perceived the taking of *Cadmea* had made *Phæbidas*. He thought the taking of the *Piræum*, and cutting off thereby the *Athenians* from the Sea, a Matter of far more Glory: It is said, (1) that *Pelopidas* and *Gelon* the Governors of *Bœotia* put him upon it; That they privily sent Men to him, who pretended to be in the *Spartan* Interest. These Men highly commending *Sphodrias*, blew him up into a great Opinion of Himself, protesting that He was the only Man in the World fit for so great an Enterprize. Being thus pricked forward, he could hold no longer, but soon engaged himself in a Business every whit as dishonourable and treacherous as That of *Cadmea*, but attempted with less Valour and less Success;

(1) The *Thebans* fearing the *Lacedæmonians* wou'd be too many for them, if they had not some other Assistance, wrought up *Sphodrias* to commit this Act of Hostility against the *Athenians* on purpose to draw them into the Quarrel. This is what we find in the fifth Book of *Xenophon*. But that Author makes no mention either of *Pelopidas*, or *Gelon*. *Plutarch* has given us a full Account of this whole Affair in the Life of *Pelopidas*.

for the Day broke whilst he was yet in the Plains of *Thriasium*, whereas he design'd the whole Exploit to have been done in the Night. As soon as the Soldiers perceived the Rays of Light reflecting from the Temples of *Eleusine*, upon the first Rising of the Sun, it is said, that their Hearts failed them; nay, he Himself, when he saw that he could not have the Benefit of the Night, had not Courage enough to go on with his Enterprize; but, having pillaged the Country, he return'd with Shame to *Thespieæ*. An Embassy was upon This sent from *Athens* to *Sparta*, to complain of the Breach of Peace; but the Ambassadors found their Journey needless, *Sphodrias* being then under Process by the Magistrates of *Sparta*. *Sphodrias* durst not stay to expect Judgment, which he found would be Capital, the City being highly incensed against him, out of the Shame they had of the Business, and the Resolution they had taken to give the *Athenians* no Cause of suspecting them to be any way consenting to so base an Action.

This *Sphodrias* had a handsome Youth to his Son, named *Cleonimus*, with whom *Archidamus*, the Son of *Agessilaus*, was deeply in Love. It may easily be imagined that *Archidamus* sympathized with his Friend, in the great Trouble and Anxiety he was in on his Father's Account, but yet he durst not appear publickly in his Assistance, he being one of the professed Enemies of *Agessilaus*. At last *Cleonimus* went to him, and importun'd him with Tears in his Eyes to prevail with the King to deal favourably with his Father (for He of all the Prosecutors was the most formidable.) *Archidamus* had not the Courage to speak to his Father for three or four Days together, but followed him up and down with a profound Silence. At last, the Day of Sentence being at hand, he
adven-

adventur'd to tell him, that *Cleonymus* had entreated him to intercede for *Sphodrias*. *Agefilaus*, though well aware of the Love between the two young Men, yet did not prohibit it, because he look'd upon *Cleonymus* as an extraordinary Youth, and of great Hopes: Yet he gave not his Son any kind Answer in the Case, but coldly told him, *That he would consider what he could honestly and honourably do in it*, and so dismissed him. *Archidamus* being ashamed of his want of Success, did forbear the Company of *Cleonymus* for some days, a thing not usual with him. This made the Friends of *Sphodrias* to think his Case desperate, 'till *Erymocles* one of *Agefilaus*'s Friends discover'd to them the King's Mind, viz. *That he abhorred the Fact, but yet he thought Sphodrias a gallant Man, such as the Commonwealth much wanted at that time.* *Agefilaus* used to talk thus concerning the Cause, being willing to gratifie his Son; upon which, *Cleonymus* quickly understood that *Archidamus* had been just to him, in using all his Interest with his Father; and *Sphodrias*'s Friends grew brisk in his Defence. The Truth is, that *Agefilaus* was a very fond Man of his Children; insomuch that it is reported, that when they were little ones, he would make a Hobby-horse of a Reed, and ride with them. Being one Day caught at this Sport by a Friend, he desired him to say nothing of it, 'till he Himself were the Father of Children.

Mean-while, *Sphodrias* being absolved of his Crime, the *Athenians* betook themselves to Arms, insomuch that *Agefilaus* fell into great Disgrace with the People; that to gratifie the Amours of a Boy, he would pervert Justice, and make the City accessory to the Crimes of two private Men, who by dishonourable Actions had broke the Peace of Greece. He also found his Colleague, *Cleombrotus*,

brotus, little inclined to the *Theban* War; so that it became necessary for him to quit the Privilege of his Age, which he had before claimed, and to lead the Army Himself; which he did with Variety of Success, sometimes conquering, and sometimes conquered; insomuch that receiving a Wound in a Battel, he was reproached by *Antalcidas*, That the *Thebans* had made him a good Requital, for teaching them to fight. And indeed they were now grown far better Soldiers than ever they had been, being so much harrassed, and so much beaten into War, by the frequency of the *Lacedæmonian* Expeditions against them. Out of the foresight of which it was, that anciently *Lycurgus* in three several Laws, forbid them to make War often in one Place, which would be a means to instruct their Enemies in the Art of it.

Mean-while, the Allies of *Sparta* were not a little discontented at *Agefilaus*, because this War was commenced not upon any publick Offence justly taken, but meerly out of his private Hatred to the *Thebans*, and with Indignation grumbled, that They being the Majority of the Army, should from Year to Year be thus exposed to Danger and Hardship here and there, at the Will of a Few.

Agefilaus being put to his Shifts, to obviate the Objection, devised this Expedient, to shew the Allies were not the greater Number. He gave Orders that all the Allies, of whatever Country, should sit down promiscuously on one side, and all the *Lacedæmonians* on the other: Which being done, he commanded an Herald to proclaim that all the (1) *Potters* of both Squadrons should stand

(1) There is a great deal of good Sense and Judgment in this Artifice of *Agefilaus*, by which he made it evidently appear that the Troops of the Allies were made up only of Mechanicks, who took up

stand out; then all the *Blacksmiths*; then all the *Masons*; next the *Carpenters*; and so he went thro' all the Handicrafts. By this time almost all the Allies were risen, but of the *Lacedæmonians* very Few, they being by Law forbidden to learn any Handicraft-Trade: Whereupon *Agésilauſ* fell a laughing, and told them, *Ye ſee, Gentlemen, how that Our Number of Soldiers is greater than Yours.*

When he brought back his Army from *Bœotia* through *Megara*, as he was going up to the Town-Hall in the Caſtle of that Town, he was ſuddenly taken with a Pain, and convulſive Motions, on his better Leg, upon which a great Tumour and Inflammation ſoon aroſe. He was attended by a *Syracuſian* Phyſician, who let him blood below the Ankle: This ſoon eaſed his Pain; but then the Blood could not be ſtopped, 'till it brought him to fainting and ſwooning; at length with much ado he ſtopped it. *Agésilauſ* was carried home to *Sparta* in a very weak Condition, inſomuch that he recover'd not Strength enough to appear in the Field a long time after.

Mean-while, the *Spartans* received many Loſſes both by Sea and Land; but the greateſt was That at *Leuctra*, which was the firſt time that

up Arms purely becauſe they were forced to it, whereas the *Lacedæmonians* were Soldiers indeed, having made the Art of War their Study from their Infancy, which was very different. *Agésilauſ* ſeems on this Occaſion to have had in view a Speech in the ſecond Book of the *Iliad*, in which *Agamemnon*, to ſhew how much the *Greeks* exceeded the *Trojans* in Number, ſaith

So ſmall their Number, that if Wars were ceaſ'd,

And Greece triumphant held a general Feaſt.

All rank'd by Tens; whole Decads when they dine,

Muſt want a Trojan Slave to pour the Wine. Pope.

By this Image he did not only ſet out to Advantage the Number of the *Greeks*, but inſinuated that the *Trojans* were no better than Slaves in compariſon, and fit only to ſerve Them in the Office of Cup-bearers.

they

they were overthrown by the *Thebans* in a set Battel. The occasion was this:

The *Græcians* (1) before This were all disposed to a general Peace, and to that End sent Ambassadors to *Sparta*. Among These was *Epaminondas* the *Theban*, famous at that time for his Wisdom and Learning; but he had not yet given proof of his Martial Virtues. He seeing all the Others crouch to *Agefilaus*, and curry favour with him, did Himself notwithstanding keep up the Port of an Ambassador, and with that Freedom that became his Character made a Speech in behalf not of *Thebes* only, from whence he came, but of all *Greece*, remonstrating, That *Sparta* had grown Great by War, to the Grievance of all her Neighbours. He urged, That Peace might be made upon equal Terms, such a one as might be a lasting one, which could not otherwise be done, (2) than by reducing All to a Parity. *Agefilaus* perceiving all the other *Greeks* to hearken much to this Discourse, and to be pleased with it, presently asked him (3) whether he did not think it just and reasonable that *Bœotia* should be permitted to live in a State of Freedom and In-

(1) It was thought necessary to add these Words, to prevent Confusion, and hinder the Reader from imagining that the Battel at *Leuctra* was fought before the Conclusion of the Peace; for it did not happen 'till twenty Days after, as we shall soon learn from *Plutarch*.

(2) This is a Lesson recommended to the Perusal of those Mungril Politicians, who labour in all Treaties to get the Balance on their Side, and by that means prevent that Equality, without which no Peace can be firm and lasting.

(3) The Meaning of all This was, the *Thebans* were for having all the other Cities in *Greece* restored to their Liberty, but wou'd at the same time keep *Bœotia* in a State of Submission subject to their Laws; on the other Hand the *Lacedæmonians* stickled for the Liberty of *Bœotia*, but wou'd still remain Masters of *Laconia*, and This was equally unjust on both sides; for every thing ought to be upon an equal Foot, otherwise That Side which kept their Towns in a State of Dependency wou'd have a great Advantage over the Other.

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dependency? *Epaminondas* briskly returned the Question, and ask'd *Agésilas* if he did not think it just and reasonable, that *Laconia* should be restored to the same State of Freedom and Independency? *Agésilas* being nettled at this Reply, rose up, and pressed him to declare peremptorily, if he would agree to an Immunity for *Bœotia*? and *Epaminondas* returned the same Question again, and asked, if the same Immunity would be granted on His part to *Laconia*? *Agésilas* was so enraged at This, that he immediately struck the *Thebans* out of the League, and declared War against them. With the rest of the *Greeks* he made a Peace, and dismissed them with this Saying, That what could be peaceably adjusted, should; what was otherwise incurable, must be committed to the Success of War, it being a thing of too great difficulty to provide for all things by Treaty.

The *Ephori* did hereupon dispatch their Orders to *Cleombrotus*, who was at that time in *Phocis*, to march directly into *Bœotia*, and at the same time sent to their Allies for help. The Confederates were very resty in the Business, and unwilling to engage, but as yet they feared the *Spartans*, and durst not refuse. And (1) although many Portents, and Prodigies of ill Presage, (which I have mentioned in the Life of *Epaminondas*) had appeared; and though (2) *Prothous* the

(1) It was given out that the Doors belonging to the Temples in *Bœotia* open'd of Themselves; that the Priestesses had declared that some signal Victory was approaching in favour of the *Bœotians*; and that all the Armour hung up in the Temple of *Hercules* disappeared, as if *Hercules* Himself was gone to be present at the Battle. *Xenophon* adds that most People were persuaded that This was an Invention of the Leaders.

(2) The Counsel *Prothous* gave was very just and reasonable; He advised that the Army shou'd be disbanded according to their Engagement; that all the Cities shou'd be ordered to carry their Contributions, every City according to its Abilities, into the Temple of *Apollo*, and that the War shou'd be directed only against Those who opposed the Liberty of the Cities; by this means they wou'd find the Gods favour their Enter-

the *Laconian* had laboured all he could to hinder it, yet *Agefilaus* would needs go forward, and prevailed so, that the War was decreed. He thought the present Juncture of Affairs very advantageous for his Revenge, the rest of *Greece* being wholly free, and in League with Them, the *Thebans* only exempted. But that this War was undertaken more upon Passion than Judgment, the Event did prove: For the Treaty was finished but the fourteenth of *May*, and the *Lacedæmonians* received their great Overthrow at *Leuctra* the fifth of *June*, within twenty Days after. There fell at that time a thousand *Spartans*, and *Cleombrotus* their King, in the Company of many others of the most gallant Men of that City; particularly *Cleonymus*, the Son of *Sphodrias*, that beautiful Youth, was thrice knock'd down at the Feet of the King, and as often rose, but was slain at the last.

This unexpected Blow, which fell so heavy upon the *Lacedæmonians*, brought greater Glory to *Thebes*, than ever was acquired by any other of the *Grecian* Republicks, in their Civil Wars against each other. The Behaviour notwithstanding of the *Spartans*, though beaten, was much greater, and more to be admired, than That of the *Thebans*. And indeed, if as *Xenophon* saith, In Conversation, good Men, even among their Sports and in their Wine, do let fall many remarkable Sayings and Jest, that are worth the preserving; (1) how much more worthy to be recorded, is an exemplary Constancy of Mind, appearing both in the Countenances and Behaviours of brave Men, when they are pressed by adverse

Enterprizes, and the Cities wou'd join 'em with Alacrity; but this Advice was laughed at. For, adds *Xenophon*, it looked as if the Gods were already spurring on the *Lacedæmonians* to their Destruction.

(1) For such Examples when found in Persons under the greatest Distress, make so strong an Impression in the Mind, that whilst we admire their Virtue, we endeavour to imitate it.

Fortune.

Fortune. It happened that the *Spartans* were celebrating a solemn Feast, at which many Strangers were present from other Countries, and the Town full of them, when this News of the Overthrow came. The *Ephori*, though they were sufficiently aware that this Blow had quite ruined the *Spartan* Grandeur, and its Primacy over the rest of *Greece*, yet gave Orders that the Sports should not break off, nor any of the Ceremonies of the Festival abate. But privately sending the Names of the Slain to each Family, out of which they were lost, they continued the publick Solemnity. The next Morning, when they had full Intelligence concerning it, and every Body knew who were slain, and who survived, the Fathers and Relations of the Slain came out rejoicing in the Market-place, saluting each other with a kind of Exultation; on the contrary, the Fathers of the Survivors hid themselves at home among the Women, as wholly ashamed of their Children. If Necessity drove any of them abroad, they went very dejectedly, with down-cast Looks, and sorrowful Countenances. The Women out-did the Men in it; Such whose Sons were slain, openly rejoicing, chearfully making Visits to one another, and meeting triumphantly in the Temples; They who expected their Children home, being very silent, and dejected.

But the common People being awakened by this Calamity, deserted by their Allies, and withal terrified with the News of *Epaminondas's* Design of invading *Peloponnesus*, (1) began to think of the Oracle, which had predicted Woes to them, when they had a Lame Man to their King, and grew

(1) This is no more than what is common in all publick Calamities; the People never fail to inquire into the secret Causes of them, and from a blindness of Superstition by which they are cow-
ed and dejected, often impute them to the most Harmless and Innocent.

mightily

mightily afflicted for the Injury done to *Leotychidas*, who was both the right Heir, and streight in all his Limbs. Notwithstanding which, the Regard they had to the distinguished Qualities and Reputation of *Agefilaus* so far stifled this Murmuring of the People, that they threw themselves upon Him in this Distress, as the only Man who was fit to heal the publick Malady, by being made sole Arbitrer of all their Difficulties, whether relating to the Affairs of War or Peace. One great one was then before them, concerning the Run-aways who had fled out of the Battel, for They being many and powerful, it was feared that they might make some Commotion in the Republick, to avoid the Penalties inflicted on them by the Laws for their Cowardice. The Law in that Case was very severe; for they were not only to be degraded from all Honours, but also it was a Disgrace to Intermarry with them: Whoever met any of them in the Streets, might beat them if he listed, nor was it lawful for them to resist; They in the mean-while were obliged to appear publickly in a nasty Habit, with their Gowns patched of divers Colours, and to wear their Beards half shaved, half unshaved. To execute so rigid a Law as This, in a Case where the Offenders were so Many, and of Those many Men of great Families and Interest, and That in a time when the Commonwealth wanted Soldiers, so much as then it did, was of dangerous Consequence. Therefore they chose *Agefilaus* a Dictator, or new Law-giver, with full Power of abrogating old Laws, or making new ones as he pleased. But He without adding to or diminishing from, or any way changing the Law, came out into the publick Assembly, and said, *The Law for this single day shall lye dormant, but be executed in its full Vigour To-morrow.* By this means he at once preserved the Law from Abrogation, and the Citizens from Infamy: And that

that he might take off the Consternation that was upon those young Men, he made an Inroad into *Arcadia*, where avoiding to engage as much as he could, he contented himself to spoil the Territory, and to take a small Town belonging to the *Mantineans*, thereby reviving the Hearts of the Populace, letting them see that they were not every where unsuccessful.

Soon after This, *Epaminondas* made an Inroad into *Laconia*, with an Army of forty thousand Soldiers, besides light-armed Men, and Others that followed the Camp only for Plunder, so that in all they were at least seventy thousand. It was now six hundred Years since the *Dorians* had possessed *Laconia*, (1) and in all that time the Face of an Enemy had not been seen within their Territories, no Man daring to Invade them: But now They made their Incursions without resistance as far as *Eurotas*, and the very Suburbs of *Sparta*; for *Agisilaus* would not permit them to engage against so impetuous a Torrent, as *Theopompus* called it. He contented himself to fortify the chief parts of the City, and to place Guards conveniently, enduring mean-while the Taunts of the *Thebans*, who reproached him as the Firebrand of the War, and the Author of all that Mischief to his Country, bidding him defend Himself if he could. But This was not all: He was greatly disturbed at home with the Tumults of the City, the Outcries and Cabals of the old Men, who were highly enraged at their present Condition, and the Women much worse, being terrified by the Clamours and the Fires of the Enemy in the Field. But That which cut him to the Heart, was the sense of his lost

(1) There are few Cities in the World that can boast of a Tranquility so long uninterrupted. This justifies *Plato's* Elogy upon *Sparta*,

She was like the Temple of the Furies, whom no one had courage enough to approach.

Glory; who having come to the Crown of *Sparta*, when it was in its most flourishing Condition and highest Grandeur, now lived to see it laid low in Esteem, and all its great Vaunts derided, even Those which he Himself had been accustomed to use, viz. *That the Women of Sparta had never seen the Smoak of the Enemy's Fire*. It is said, that *Antalcidas* being in dispute with an *Athenian* about the Valour of the two Nations, the *Athenian* bragged, That they had often driven the *Spartans* from the River *Cephisus*: Yes, said *Antalcidas*, but we never had occasion to drive you from *Eurotas*. A common *Spartan* of less Quality being in Company with an *Argive*, who was vapouring how many *Spartans* lay buried in the Fields of *Argos*, replied, But you have none buried in the Country of *Laconia*. But now the Case was so altered, that that very *Antalcidas* being one of the *Ephori*, sent away his Children privately to the Island of *Cythera*, for fear they should fall with the City into the Hands of the Enemy.

When the Enemy essayed to get over the River, and thence to attack the Town, *Agefilas* betook himself to the high Places and strong Holds of it. But it happened luckily at that time that the *Eurotas* was swelled to a great Height, by reason of the Snow that had fallen, which made the Passage very difficult to the *Thebans*, not only by its Depth, but much more by the extream Coldness of the Water. *Epaminondas* was the first Person that passed at the Head of his Infantry, and every where appeared the foremost Man in the Army, insomuch that *Agefilas* viewing the whole Action, fell into Admiration of his Galantry. But when he came nearer, and would have attempted something either upon the City, or the Territories belonging to it, that might raise him a Trophy, he could not tempt *Agefilas* out of his Hold, but was forced

to march off again, wasting the Country as he went.

Mean-while a dangerous Conspiracy broke out in *Sparta*, where two hundred Malecontents, who had for a long time concealed their evil Purposes, and wanted such an Opportunity, got into a strong part of the Town called *Ifforion*, where they seized upon the Temple of *Diana*. The *Spartans* were enraged at it, and would instantly have fallen upon them; but *Agésilauſ* not knowing how far the Sedition might reach, commanded them to forbear, and going himself in his Cloak, with but one Servant, when he came near the Rebels, he called out, and told them, (1) *You have mistaken my Orders. My Directions were not that You should All go in a Body to that Station, but that Some of You should plant Your selves there, and Others there*; at the same time pointing out to them different Parts of the City. The Conspirators gladly heard this Discourse, thinking themselves no way suspected of Treason, and readily went off to the Places which he shewed them. Whereupon *Agésilauſ* immediately ordered some of the Troops to possess themselves of that Post, and having caused about fifteen of the Conspirators to be apprehended, he commanded they should be put to Death the Night following.

After this a much more dangerous Conspiracy was discovered of a great Number of *Spartan* Citizens, who met privately every Night at a certain

(1) This was a very bold Stroak in *Agésilauſ*, and yet it was at the same time almost impossible but it should succeed. Mutineers are seldom thoroughly concerted and fixed in their Design, so as to put it in Execution at a time for which they are not prepared, but being on one side surprized by the Presence of their General, and on the

other in a Rapture to find that their Plot is not discovered, They obey with Readiness, and refer to another Opportunity the Performance of That for which they were not then ripe. We meet in History with many Instances where such Examples of Delay have been imitated, and proved successful in the Event.

Place, where they consulted how to introduce a Change in the Government. It was equally dangerous, by reason of the Greatness of the Party, to prosecute them publicly according to Law, and to connive at them. *Agefilaus* took another Course, and by consent of the *Ephori*, put them to death privately (1) without Process; a thing never before known in *Sparta*.

At this time also many of the *Helots*, and other Hirelings, that were listed in the Army, ran away to the Enemy, which was matter of great Consternation to the City. He therefore caused some Officers, every Morning before day, to search the Quarters of the Soldiers, and where any Man was gone, to hide his Arms, that so the greatness of the number might not appear.

Historians differ about the Cause of the *Thebans* departure from *Sparta*. Some say, the Winter forced them; as also that the *Arcadian* Soldiers disbanding, made it necessary for the rest to retire. Others say, that they stay'd there three Months, 'till they had laid the whole Country waste. *Theopompus* is the only Author who gives out, That when the *Bæotarchæ*, or Council of War of the *Theban* Army, had resolved upon the Retreat, *Phrixus* the *Spartan* came to them, and offered them from *Agefilaus* ten Talents to be gone, so hiring them to do what they were already doing of their own accord. (2) How He alone should come

(1) It has been much debated what ought to be done in a Case of this Nature, whether the Conspirators may justly be punished without any Formality of Law. It is certain that the publick Safety is the supream Law; and Many are of Opinion that where That is nearly concerned, and the present Exigences require it, one may very

reasonably dispense with those Formalities, because Delays are dangerous; but This may be subject to great Inconveniencies.

(2) *Plutarch* opposeth what is here given out by *Theopompus* for this only Reason, because it is mentioned by no body else; but in my Opinion there is another Reason much more Weighty: Which is,

that

come to the Knowledge of this Particularity, I know not. One thing is certain, and wherein all Authors agree, which is, That the saving of *Sparta* from Ruin was wholly due to the Wisdom of *Agésilæus*, who in this Extremity of Affairs quitted his two darling Passions, Ambition and Obstinacy, and resolved to play a saving Game. But all his Wisdom and Prowess was not sufficient to recover its Glory, and raise it to its ancient Greatness. (1) For as we see in Bodies, long used to strict and too exquisitely regular Diet, if they commit any great Disorder, it is generally fatal; so in this City, which by the strictness of her Laws, and the severe Virtue and great Conduct of her Leaders, had flourished so long, one false Step in Policy undid All. Nor was this Fall wholly undeserved, since they had so much swerved from the Institutions of *Lycurgus*, to which their Ancestors were sworn, (2) who had formed a Republick, wholly fitted to the Ease, and Peace, and virtuous Life of the Inhabitants, so that they might have lived happily within themselves, if they could

that the Thing itself is ridiculous in every Circumstance. Would *Agésilæus* have bribed the *Thebans* with such a Sum of Money to quit *Laconia*, after they themselves had given Orders for their Departure, and it was visible that every thing was in a Disposition for their March? The Money supposed to be given, and the Time when, leave not the least room for any Probability in the whole Affair.

(1) This is taken from *Hippocrates*, who taught that it was unsafe for a Man of a healthy Constitution to accustom himself to too exact a Regimen, because the least Deviation from that Regimen, which it may be impossible for

him to observe constantly, may be attended with very dangerous Consequences.

(2) *Plutarch* tells us Himself in the Life of *Lycurgus*, p. 251. that that Law-giver thought the Happiness of a Kingdom, as well as of a private Man, consisted chiefly in the Exercise of Virtue, and mutual Love of the Inhabitants, &c. which is of more Avail than a Force sufficient to make it Mistress of the whole World: A Principle immoveably settled by *Plato* in his first *Alcibiades*, where he makes it evident, that neither Walls, Ships, Arsenals, Troops, nor Grandeur, but Virtue only, can make Cities happy.

have forborn molesting their Neighbours, or seeking Dominion over them.

Agésilas being now very aged, gave over all Military Employments; but his Son *Archidamus*, having received Help from *Dionysius* of *Sicily*, gave a great Overthrow to the *Arcadians*, in a Fight remarkably known by the Name of *The Tearless Battel*, wherein there was a great Slaughter of the Enemy, without the loss of one *Spartan*. This Victory did but too much discover the present Weakness of *Sparta*; for heretofore Victory was esteemed so usual a thing with them, that for their greatest Successes they seldom sacrificed any more than a Cock to the Gods: The Soldiers never vaunted, nor were the Citizens extravagantly joyful at the News: Yea, when the great Victory was obtained at *Mantineia*, which is at large described by *Thucydides*, the Messenger that brought the News had no other Reward, than a good piece of powdered Beef sent him to his Lodgings. But at the News of this *Arcadian* Victory, they were not able to contain themselves; but the old King went out in Procession with Tears of Joy in his Eyes, to meet and embrace his Son, and all the Council attended him. The old Men and Women marched out in Crouds as far as the River *Eurotas*, lifting up their Hands, and thanking the Gods, as if *Sparta* had that day wash'd off the Stain that so lately stuck upon her, and had just then recovered her ancient Splendor. For we are told that 'till then the married Men durst not look their Wives in the Face, from a Consciousness of Shame for their late Losses.

When *Epaminondas* was rebuilding *Messene*, and recalling the ancient Inhabitants to repeople it, they dared not appear in the Field to obstruct it; tho' they were much concerned at it, and were full of Resentment against *Agésilas* for suffering so large
a Ter-

a Territory, equal to their Own in Compass, and for Fertility the richest of all *Greece*, which they had enjoyed so long, to be taken from them in his Reign. For this Reason he refused to accept of Peace when offered him by the *Thebans*. He could not be brought to make a formal Cession of That to them, of which they were already in Possession. But this Punctilio of Honour had like to have cost him dear; for in the Progress of the War he was overreached by a Stratagem, which had almost amounted to the Loss of *Sparta*. For when the *Mantineans* had again revolted from *Thebes* to *Sparta*, and *Epaminondas* understood that *Agésilau*s was marching to their Assistance with a powerful Army, he privately in the Night quitted his Quarters at *Tegea*, and unknown to the *Mantineans*, passing by *Agésilau*s marched towards *Sparta*, insomuch that he failed very little of taking it empty and unarmed. Of this *Agésilau*s having Intelligence sent him by *Euthymus* the *Thespian*, saith *Calisthenes*, but by some *Cretan* saith *Xenophon*, immediately dispatched a Post to *Lacedæmon*, to advertise them of it, and withal to let them know that he was hastening to them. He did it with that Expedition, that he prevented the *Thebans*, who passed *Eurotas* just as he was got into the Town. Notwithstanding This they assaulted it, and were received by *Agésilau*s with great Courage, he bestirring himself much beyond what was to be expected from his Years. For he did not now fight with that Caution and Cunning which he formerly made use of, but put All upon a desperate push; which (though not his usual Method) succeeded so well, that he rescued the City out of the Jaws of *Epaminondas*, and forced him to retire. This Action deserved a Trophy, and at the Erection of it *Agésilau*s encouraged the Citizens, by shewing them how well they had paid their Debt to their Country in this Action,

and particularly took notice of the great Performances of his Son *Archidamus*, who had that Day made himself Illustrious, both by his Courage and Agility of Body, speedily shifting Places to all the dangerous Passes, where the Enemy pressed hardest into the Town, every where charging the Enemy, though with but few in his Company. But the grand Example of an Heroick Valour was given by *Isadas*, the Son of *Phæbidas*, to the Admiration of the Enemy as well as of his Friends. He was a very comely, handsom, well-grown, proper Youth, just beginning to write Man. He had no Arms upon him, scarce Cloaths; he had just appointed himself at home, when upon the Alarm, without further Ceremony, in that Undress, he snatched a Spear in one Hand, and a Sword in the Other, and brake into the thickest of his Enemies, bearing down All before him. He received no Wound, whether that he were the particular Care of God, who rewarded his Valour with an extraordinary Protection, or whether his Shape being so large and beautiful, and his Dress so unusual, they thought him more than Man. The Gallantry of the Action was so esteemed among the *Spartans*, that the *Ephori* gave him a Garland; but as soon as they had done, they fined him a thousand Drachmas, for going out to Battel unarmed.

A few Days after This there was another Battel fought near *Mantineia*, wherein *Epaminondas* having routed the Van of the *Lacedæmonians*, was eager in the Pursuit of them, when *Anticrates* the *Laconian* wounded him with a Spear, saith *Dioscorides*, Others say with a Sword, which is the most probable, for the *Spartans* to this day call the Posterity of this *Anticrates*, Sword-men, because he slew *Epaminondas* with a Sword. They so dreaded *Epaminondas* when living, that the Slayer of him was embraced and admired by All; nay, they de-

creed Honours and Rewards to Him, and to his Posterity an Immunity from all manner of Taxes: This Privilege, *Callicrates*, one of his Descendants, now enjoyeth.

Epaminondas being slain, there was a general Peace again concluded, from which *Agésilæus's* Party excluded the *Messenians*, as Men that had no City, and therefore would not let them swear to the League; to which when the rest of the *Greeks* admitted them, the *Lacedæmonians* went off, and continued the War alone, in hopes of subduing the *Messenians*. For this Reason was *Agésilæus* esteemed a stubborn, refractory Man, and insatiable of War, who took such Pains to hinder the League, and to protract the War at a time when he had not Money wherewith to carry it on, but was forced to borrow of the Citizens, and to oppress them with heavy Taxes; (1) whereas he ought to have eas'd them of their Burdens, and put an end to their Calamities, since it was high time, and he had a proper Opportunity for it; and all This only to retrieve the Country of *Messenia*, after he had lost so great an Empire both by Sea and Land, as the *Spartans* were possessed of, when he came to the Crown.

(2) But it did more move the Indignation of all Men, when he put himself into the Service of *Tachos*

(1) This Passage in *Plutarch* is worthy the Attention of all Sovereign States and Princes. It is infinitely better to embrace a favourable Opportunity of Peace, than to expose the Subjects to unavoidable Calamities for the Recovery of a Country rich indeed, but with all its Riches not able to recompense them for the Hardships they suffer from the Continuance of the War.

(2) But this Action is not in the

least to be condemned, when considered in the manner *Xenophon*, a cotemporary Author, has delivered it. He tells us that *Agésilæus* being informed that *Tachos* King of *Ægypt* was raising a mighty Army, in order to fall upon the King of *Persia*, was pleased to find himself invited by that Prince to accept of the Command of that Army. For he hoped he should by that means be able to return some Acknowledgment to *Tachos* for his many Services

chos the *Ægyptian*. They thought it too much unworthy a Man of his Quality, who was then looked upon as the prime Commander in all *Greece*, who had filled all Countries with his Renown, to let himself out to Hire to a *Barbarian*, an *Ægyptian* Rebel, (for *Tachos* was no better) and to fight for Pay, as Captain only of a Band of Mercenaries. If at those Years of eighty and odd, after his Body had been worn out with Age, and enfeebled with Wounds, he had engaged in some very honourable Cause, even for the Liberty of *Greece*, it had been however worthy of some Reproof. To make an Action honourable, it ought to be agreeable to the Age, and other Circumstances of the Person; for it is Circumstance that distinguisheth the Action, and makes it either good or bad. But *Agefilaus* valued not other Mens Discourses; he thought no publick Employment dishonourable; the ignoblest thing in his esteem was for a Man to sit idle and resty at home, 'till Death should come and take him napping. The Money therefore that he received from *Tachos*, he laid out in raising of Men, wherewith having filled his Ships, he took also thirty *Spartan* Captains with him for his Council, as formerly he had done in his *Asiatick* Expedition, and set sail for *Ægypt*.

As soon as he arrived in *Ægypt*, all the great Officers of the Kingdom came to pay their Compliments to him at his Landing. His Reputation being so great, had raised the Expectation of the whole Country, which did flock in to see him; but when they found, instead of the great Prince whom they looked for, a little old Man of con-

vices to the *Lacedæmonians*; that he should be able to restore the *Greek* Cities in *Asia* to their Liberty, and revenge the Wrongs done the *Spartans* by the King of *Persia* in times past, as well as his late ill Office in forcing them to give up *Messene*, tho' at the same time he called himself their Ally.

temptible

temptible Presence, without all Ceremony lying down upon the Grass, his Hair uncombed, and his Cloaths threadbare, they fell into laughter and scorn of him, crying out, that the old Proverb was now made good, *The Mountain had brought forth a Mouse*. They were much more scandalized at his Insensibility and Rudeness, (as they thought it) who when the Presents usually offered to Strangers of Distinction were made him of all manner of Provisions, took only the Meal, the Calves, and the Geese, but rejected the Sweat-Meats, the Confections and Perfumes: And when they did urge him to the acceptance of them, he said, *They might carry them to his Slaves the Helots*. *Theophrastus* saith, that he was taken with nothing he saw in *Ægypt*, so much as with the *Papyrus* so proper for Garlands, by reason of the smoothness and pliantness of its Rind; and when he left *Ægypt*, he desired the King to let him carry some of it home with him.

When he joyned with *Tachos*, he found his Expectation of being Generalissimo frustrated; *Tachos* reserved that Place for Himself, making *Agésilæus* only Captain of the Band of *Mercenaries*, and *Chabrias* (the *Athenian*) Admiral. This was the first occasion of his Discontent; but there followed others: He (being daily tired with the Insolency and Vanity of this *Ægyptian*) was at length forced to attend on him into *Phœnicia*, in a Condition much below his Spirit and Dignity, which notwithstanding he was obliged to digest for a while, 'till he had opportunity of shewing his Resentment. It was soon afforded him by *Nectanabis*, *Tachos's* own Nephew, and a great Captain under him, who took an occasion to fall off from his Uncle, and was proclaimed King by the *Ægyptians*. This Man invited *Agésilæus* to his Party, and the like he did to *Chabrias*, offering great Rewards to Both. *Tachos* being

ing advertised of it, had recourse to submissive Prayers and Intreaties, conjuring them not to abandon him. *Chabrias* was prevailed upon by what he said, and endeavoured by heartening *Agésilas* under his Grievances, and by his Remonstrances to reconcile him to *Tachos*, and keep him firm to his Interest. But he gave him this short Reply, *You, O Chabrias, came hither a Voluntier, and may go or stay as you see cause; but I am the Servant of Sparta, (1) appointed to head the Egyptians, and therefore I cannot fight against Those to whom I was sent as a Friend, unless I am commanded to do so by my Country.* At the same time he dispatched Messengers to *Sparta*, by whom he accused *Tachos* to the Senate, and justified *Nectanabis*. The two *Egyptians* did also send their Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon*, to court the Interest and Favour of the *Spartans*, the One as being their old Friend and Confederate, and the Other as a Person already well affected towards them, and whom a sense of Gratitude would absolutely devote to their Service. The *Spartans* having heard both Sides, gave in their publick Answer, *That they referred the whole Matter to Agésilas; and wrote in particular to him, to act as he should find it best for the Profit of the Commonwealth.* Upon receipt of his Orders, he soon changed sides, carrying all the *Mercenaries* with him to *Nectanabis*, (2) covering so foul an Action with the plausible pretence of

(1) The *Spartans* sent him to be General under *Tachos*, but he makes use of the Word *Egyptians* to disguise the Truth, and put a Varnish upon his Perfidy, as if in deserting to *Nectanabis*, who was declared King of the *Egyptians*, he had acted in Conformity to his Orders. But the Weakness of this Defence is manifest, for *Tachos* was still at the Head of an Army of *Egyptians*.

(2) Thus *Agésilas* forsakes the Prince, whom he was sent to succour, and enters into the Service of his Enemy, who had rebelled against him. *Plutarch* very justly calleth This a foul Action, and I wonder to see *Xenophon* endeavour to palliate it by saying, *Agésilas* espoused the Interest of that Prince whom he found best inclined to Greece.

Acting for the benefit of his Country, whereas the fine Vail being taken off, the Fact was no better than downright Treachery. But the *Lacedemonians*, who make it the first Principle of their Actions to serve their Country, know not any thing to be just or unjust by any Measures but That.

Tachos being thus deserted by the *Mercenaries*, thought it safe to withdraw; but at the same time another Prince of the City of *Mendes* put in his Claim, and being declared King by his Party, marched at the Head of a hundred thousand Men against *Neetanabis*. *Neetanabis* in his Discourse with *Agésilauſ* deſpised them as new-raiſed Men, who, though many in number, were of no ſkill in War, being moſt of them Handicrafts and Tradeſmen, and Strangers to martial Diſcipline. To whom *Agésilauſ* answered, *That he deſpised their Numbers, but was afraid of their Ignorance, which gave no room for treating them by Finesſs and Stratagem; for Thoſe are to be uſed only upon cunning and crafty Men, who being ſuſpicious of the Enemies Deſigns, and forming Others to countermine them, often fall into the Snare unadviſedly; but a fool-hardy Man, who neither ſuſpecteth nor feareth any thing, gives no more opportunity to the Enemy, than He who ſtands ſtock-ſtill without moving his Leg, giveth to a Wreſtler.* This *Mendeſian* was not wanting in his Solicitations to *Agésilauſ*, inſomuch that *Neetanabis* grew jealous. But when *Agésilauſ* adviſed him to fight the Enemy immediately, before either their Skill or their Numbers encreaſed, it being imprudent to protract a War with ſuch Men, who (rude and inexpert as they were) would ſo increaſe in Numbers, as wholly to incompaſs them, and prevent their Deſigns: This confirmed him in his Jealouſie, and made him take the quite contrary courſe, retreating into a ſtrong Garrifon, well fortify'd with Walls and Bulwarks. *Agésilauſ* finding himſelf miſtrufteſt,

took

took it very ill, and was full of Indignation, yet was ashamed to change Sides again, or to return home without performing any thing; so that he was forced to follow *Nectanabis*, and shut himself up with him in the Town.

When the Enemy came up, and began to draw a Line about the Town, and to intrench, the *Ægyptian* was resolving upon a Battel, thinking it much safer to run the Hazard of an Engagement than to be begirt round with a Ditch, and so starved out in a long Siege. The *Greeks* were also of that Mind, the Provisions growing already scarce in the Place. When *Agefilaus* opposed it, the *Ægyptians* suspected him more than ever, publicly calling him a Traitor to his Majesty. But *Agefilaus* heard all these Reproaches patiently, and follow'd the Design close which he had laid, of overreaching the Enemy, which was This:

The Enemy had intrenched with a deep Ditch and high Wall, resolving to shut up the King and starve Him. When the Ditch was brought almost quite round, and the two Ends were within a reasonable Space of being joined, *Agefilaus* waiting for the Advantage of the Night, ordered all his *Greeks* to arm: Then going to the King, *This, young Man, is your Opportunity*, said he, *of saving your self, which I durst not all this while discover, lest the Discovery should prevent it; but now the Enemy hath at his own cost, and the pains and labour of his own Men, provided for our security. As much of this Wall as is built will prevent them from surrounding us with their Multitude, the Gap yet left will be sufficient for us to sally out by: Now play the Man, and follow the Example the Greeks will give you, and by fighting valiantly, save your self and your Army; their Front will not be able to stand against us, and their Rear we are sufficiently secured from, by a Wall of their own making. Nectanabis admiring the Wisdom*

dom of *Agessilaus*, immediately placed himself in the Grecian Army, and fought with them; which upon the first Charge soon routed the Enemy. *Agessilaus* having now gotten Credit with the King, began to use what Stratagems he thought good, without being interrupted by him: He sometimes pretended a Retreat, otherwhile charged furiously, by this means disordering the Enemy, and at last trolled them into a Place enclosed between two Ditches that were very deep and full of Water. When he had them at this Advantage, he soon charged them, drawing up the Front of his Battel equal to the space between the two Ditches, so that they had no way of surrounding him, being enclosed Themselves on both sides. They made but little Resistance; Many fell, Others fled and were dispersed.

Nectanabis being thus settled and fixed in his Kingdom, did with much Kindness and Earnestness invite *Agessilaus* to spend his Winter in *Aegypt*: But he made haste home to assist in the Wars of his own Country, whose Treasury he knew to be empty, yet were they forced to hire *Mercenaries*, whilst their own Men were fighting abroad. The King dismissed him very honourably, and among other Presents, he presented the State of *Sparta* with two hundred and thirty Talents of Silver, towards the Charge of their Wars: But the Winter-season coming on, he was driven by a Storm upon a desert Shore in *Africa*, called *The Haven of Menelaus*, where he expired, being then eighty four Years old, of which he had reigned forty one in *Lacedæmon*. The first thirty Years of his Reign he passed in great Splendor, being esteemed the greatest and most powerful Prince of all Greece, and considered in it as King and Commander in Chief, 'till the fatal Battel of *Leuctra*. It was the Custom of the *Spartans* to bury their common dead in the
Place

Place where they died, whatsoever Country it was, but their Kings they embalmed and carried home. Now the Followers of *Agefilaus* having not where with to embalm him, did, for want of Honey which they used in their Embalming, wrap his Body in Wax, and so conveyed him to *Lacedaemon*.

His Son *Archidamus* succeeded him in his Throne, (1) so did his Posterity successively to *Agis*, the fifth from *Agefilaus*; who was murdered by *Leonidas*, for seeking to restore the ancient Discipline of *Sparta*.

(1) This is the Genealogy.

Agefilaus
|
Archidamus
|
Agis II. and Eudamidas.
Agis dying without Children, his

Brother *Eudamidas* succeeded; and had a Son named *Archidamus*.

Archidamus IV.

|
Eudamidas II.

|
Agis III.



THE



L. Cheron inv.

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G. V. Guichet scul. 34





T H E
L I F E
O F
P O M P E Y.

THE People of *Rome* seem to have embraced *Pompey* from his Childhood, with the same Affection that *Prometheus* (1) in the Tragedy of *Æschylus* expressed for *Hercules*, speaking of him as the Author of his Deliverance, in these Words,

*Ab cruel Sire! how dear's thy Son to me!
The generous Off-spring of my Enemy?*

(1) *Æschylus* wrote two Tragedies, one called Πρωμηθεὺς δεσμώτης, *Prometheus in Chains*, and the Other Πρωμηθεὺς λυόμενος, *Prometheus released*. This last is lost, there being only some Fragments of it remaining. It is to a Line in this Piece that *Plutarch* alludes, where *Prometheus* tells *Hercules*, that He is 'as much his Delight, as his Father Jupiter is his Aversion. For Jupiter had chained him to the Rocks of Mount *Caucasus*, from whence *Hercules* had released him.

For

For on one hand, never did the *Romans* give such a Demonstration of their Hatred (a Hatred so implacable and savage) against any of their Generals, as they did against *Strabo*, the Father of *Pompey*. All his Life-time, it is true, they stood in awe of his martial Prowess and Power, (for indeed he was a mighty Warrior) but immediately upon his Death, (which happened by a Stroke of Thunder) they treated him barbarously, dragging his very Corps from the Herse, as it was carried in Pomp at his Funeral, with Villany and Disgrace. On the other side, in favour of *Pompey*, never had any *Roman* the People's Good-will and Devotion more zealous throughout all the Changes of Fortune, either springing up earlier, and aspiring together with him in Prosperity, or so constantly Loyal in Adversity, as *Pompey* had. In *Strabo*, there was one great Cause of their Hatred, his unsatiable Covetousness; but in *Pompey* there were Many, whereby he became the Object of their Love; (1) his Temperance, Skill, and Exercise in Martial Discipline, Eloquence of Speech, Integrity of Mind, and Affability in Conversation and Address; insomuch as no Man ever made his Addresses with less Trouble, or gratify'd an Addressor with more Delight: For in Presents when he gave, it was without Disdain; when he receiv'd, it was with Honour and Dignity.

In his Youth he had a Grace in his Countenance extreamly taking, seeming to anticipate his

(1) *Velleius Paterculus* has given us a fine Description of him. *Forma excellens, saith he, non ea, quae flos commendatur Aetatis, sed ex dignitate constante, quae in illam conveniens Amplitudinem, fortunam quoque ejus, ad ultimum vita committata est diem. Innocentia eximius, sanctitate precipuus, eloquentia medius, potentia, quae honoris cau-*

sa ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus: dux bello peritissimus, Civis in toga, nisi ubi vereretur ne quem haberet parem modestissimus. Amicitiarum tenax, in offensis exorabilis, in reconcilianda gratia fidelissimus, &c. He adds that he wou'd have been clear of all Faults but for That One which wou'd not suffer him to bear an Equal.

Eloquence,

Eloquence, and win upon the Affections of the People before he spoke; for in his Air there was a Majestick Gravity, temper'd with no less Candor and Humanity: And when as yet he was but in the Flower and Dawn of his Manhood, there appear'd in his Deportment a sage and princely Genius, even in its Meridian. His Hair sat somewhat hollow or rising a little: And the languishing Motion of his Eyes, seem'd to form a Resemblance in his Face, (though perhaps more through the Speech of the People, than real Likeness) to the Statues of King *Alexander*: Infomuch that Some gave him that Name in good earnest, with which he was not displeased, whilst Others call'd him so in Derision; and it is said that even (1) *Lucius Philippus*, a Man of Consular Dignity, when he was one Day pleading in favour of him, thought it not unfit to say, (2) *That there was nothing absurd or unexpected in this, that he himself being Philip, should be a Lover of Alexander.*

It is reported of *Flora* the Curtezan, that in her latter time she took great Delight in relating her Amours and Familiarity with *Pompey*, and was wont to say, That she could never part upon an Enjoyment without giving him a Bite. And withal she would farther tell you, That one *Geminus*, a great Companion of *Pompey's*, fell in love with her, and made his Court with all the Arts imaginable; but she refusing, and telling him However her Inclinations were, yet she could not gratifie his Desires for *Pompey's* sake: He therefore moved *Pompey* in it, and *Pompey* frankly gave

(1) *L. Martius Philippus*, one of the greatest Orators of his Time. He was Father-in-law to *Augustus*, having married his Mother *Attia*. *Horace* makes men-

tion of him, *Lib. 1. Epist. vii* (2) With great Deference to the Reputation of the Orator, be it spoken, I take This to be a poor insipid Quibble.

his Consent, but never afterwards would touch her, or have any Converse with her, notwithstanding he seem'd to have retain'd a strong Passion for her; which *Flora* resented, not with the Levity of a Strumpet, for that she languish'd afterwards under a tedious Sickness through Grief and Desire. This *Flora* was however such a celebrated Beauty, that *Cecilius Metellus*, when he adorned the Temples of *Castor* and *Pollux* with divers rare Statues and Pictures, among the rest dedicated Her's drawn to the Life, for her singular Beauty. But *Pompey's* Self-denial never appeared in a stronger Light, than in his Deportment towards the Wife of *Demetrius*, his franchis'd Servant, who had a great Influence upon him in his Life-time, and left an Estate of four thousand Talents behind him; to whom He demean'd himself neither gently nor ingenuously, fearing lest he should fall under the common Censure of being enamour'd and charm'd with her Beauty, which was incomparable, and became famous every where. Thus though herein he seem'd to be providently circumspect and cautious, yet even in Matters of this Nature he could not avoid the Calumnies of his Enemies, but upon the score of Women, they accused him, as if he had connived at many things, and embezzel'd the publick Revenue to gratifie their Luxury.

Then for his Sobriety, and Temperance in Diet, there was one remarkable Passage in his Sickness; when his Stomach nauseated common Meats, his Physician prescribed him a *Thrush* to eat; but upon search, there was none to be bought (for they were not then in Season) and one telling him, they were to be had at *Lucullus's*, who kept them all the Year round: *Why then*, said he, *if it were not for Lucullus's Luxury, should not Pompey live?* Thereupon dismissing his Physician,

he

he contented himself with such Meat as could easily be procured. But of that hereafter.

Now *Pompey* being as yet a very young Man, and upon an Expedition, (in which his Father was appointed General against *Cinna*) had in his Tent with him one *Lucius Terentius*, his Companion and Comrade, who being corrupted by *Cinna*, entered into an Engagement to kill *Pompey*, as Others had done to set the General's Tent on Fire. This Conspiracy being discover'd to *Pompey* at Supper, he seem'd no ways discompos'd at it, but drank more liberally than usual, and express'd an extraordinary Kindness to *Terentius*; 'till about Bed-time (pretending to go to his Repose) he stole away secretly out of his own Tent, and setting a Guard about his Father, quietly expected the Event: *Terentius* now thinking his Enterprize ripe for Execution, rose with his naked Sword, and coming to *Pompey's* Bed-side, stabb'd several Stroaks through the Bed-cloaths, as if he were lying there. Immediately upon This there was a great Uproar throughout all the Camp, arising from the Hatred they bore to the General, and an universal Inclination of the Soldiers to revolt, all tearing down their Tents, and betaking themselves to their Arms. The General himself all this while durst not venture out because of the Tumult, but *Pompey* running into the midst of them, beseech'd them with Tears, and at last threw himself prostrate upon his Face before the Gate of the Camp, and lay there in the Passage as a Bar at their Feet, bewailing his Fate, and bidding Those that were marching off, if they would go, to trample upon Him: Whereupon every Man began to retreat, and All, except eight hundred, either through Shame or Compassion, repented of their Folly, and were reconcil'd to the General.

Immediately upon the Death of *Strabo* there was an Action commenced against *Pompey* as his Heir, for that his Father had embezzled the publick Treasure: But *Pompey* having well traced the Thief, charged it upon one *Alexander*, a franchised Bond-slave of his Father's, and made an undoubted Evidence before the Judges that He had purloin'd and converted it to his own Use. Afterwards He himself was arraigned, (1) for that he had seiz'd upon the Toils, or hunting Tackle, and Books, that were taken at *Asculum*. To this he confessed thus far, that he received them from his Father when he took *Asculum*, but pleaded farther, That he had lost them since; which happen'd upon *Cinna's* Return to *Rome*, when his House was broke open and plundered by those of his Guards. In this Cause he had a great many preparatory Pleadings against his Accuser, in which appearing strangely subtil and industrious beyond his Years, he gain'd great Reputation and Favour; insomuch that *Antistius*, the *Pretor* and Judge of that Cause, took a great Liking to *Pompey*, and offer'd him his Daughter in Marriage: Having had some Treaties and Communications with his Friends about it, *Pompey* accepted of the Condition, and they were privately contracted: However this Matter was not so closely carry'd, as to escape the Multitude, but it was discernible enough, from the Favours that were shewn to him by *Antistius* in his Cause. Whereupon, at last, when *Antistius* pronounced the absolutory Sentence of the Judges, the People (as if it had been upon a Signal given) made

(1) Who wou'd ever have thought that the Son of a General shou'd be called to account for having taken to his own Use such a Trifle upon the Plunder of a City? But this Trifle makes it appear how severe the Romans were in that point, and with what clear Hands they required even their Generals to carry themselves, with respect to the Spoils taken from the Enemy.

the same Acclamation as was anciently used at Marriages, *Talassio*; the Original of which Custom is reported to be This: Upon a time when the Daughters of the *Sabines* came to *Rome*, to see the Shows and Sports there, and were violently seiz'd upon by the Nobles for Wives, it happen'd that some Goatswains and Herdsmen of the meaner Rank were carrying off a beautiful and proper Damsel; and lest any of the Nobles should meet them, and take her away as they ran, they cry'd out with one Voice, *Talassio*: Now *Talassius* was an eminent and acceptable Person among them, insomuch as All that heard the Name, clapp'd their Hands for Joy, and joined with them in the Shout, as applauding and congratulating the Chance; now, say they, (because that proved a fortunate Match to *Talassius*) hence it is that this Acclamation is jocularly used as a Nuptial Song at all Weddings. And This is the most credible Account that I can meet with touching *Talassio*.

Some few Days after this Judgment, *Pompey* married *Antistia*, and after that went to *Cinna's* Camp, were finding some false Suggestions and Calumnies forged against him, and knowing the Nature of the Man, he began to be afraid, and presently withdrew himself in Disguise from the Camp. This sudden Disappearacce occasion'd great Jealousies, and there went a Rumour throughout the whole Army, that *Cinna* had murder'd the young Man; whereupon All that had been any ways disobliged, and bore any Malice to him, resolv'd to make an Assault upon him: But He endeavouring to make his Escape, was apprehended by a *Centurion*, that pursued him with his naked Sword; wherefore *Cinna* in this Distress fell upon his Knees, and offer'd him a Seal of great Value for his Ransom;

but the *Centurion* checked him very insolently, saying, *I come not here to seal a Covenant, but to chastise and be revenged upon a lawless and wicked Tyrant;* and so dispatched him immediately.

Thus *Cinna* being slain, *Carbo*, a more violent and harden'd Tyrant than He succeeded, and took the Administration of the Government upon him. But shortly after *Sylla* returned into *Italy*, a Man desired by the greatest Part of the *Romans*, who under their present Calamities placed no small Ease and Satisfaction in the Exchange of a Master: For the City was brought to that pass by those grievous Oppressions, that every Man now being utterly in despair of Liberty, was compounding for himself, and laying out for the mildest and most tolerable Bondage. About that time *Pompey* was at *Picenum* in *Italy*, where he had a small Estate; but the chiefest Motive of his Abode in that Country, was the hereditary Affection of the Cities there, which had been paid to his Family from Father to Son for many Generations.

Now when *Pompey* perceived that the noblest and best of the City began to forsake their Habitations, and fly from all Quarters to *Sylla's* Camp, as to their Haven, he design'd likewise to repair thither among the rest, but disdained to go as a Fugitive, or alone, and without a Party; He chose rather to oblige *Sylla* at his very first setting out, and render himself serviceable to him by appearing before him at the Head of an Army. To that end, he moved and solicited the *Picentines* for their Assistance, who as cordially embraced his Motion, and rejected Those that were sent from *Carbo*; inso-much that one *Vindius*, a malepert Fellow of that Faction, taking upon him to say, *Very fine indeed! Pompey from a sniveling School-boy is become your chief Orator, and Commander;* They were so incensed against him, that immediately they fell upon him,

him, and slew him. From henceforward *Pompey* finding a Spirit of Government upon him, though as yet not above twenty three Years of Age, nor deriving an Authority by Commission from any superior Magistrate, took the Privilege to grant Himself a full Power and Jurisdiction; and in order to That, he caused a Tribunal or Court of Judicature to be erected in the Market-place of *Auximum*, a populous City. Now it happened that two of the chiefest among them, (the *Ventidians*, Brethren) of *Carbo's* Faction, were grand Opposers of his Designs; Those he banished instantly, commanding them by a publick Edict to depart the City: Then he fell to levying an Army, issuing out Commissions to Serjeants of Bands, Centurions, and other Officers, according to the Form of Military Discipline: And in this manner he went round, and modell'd all the rest of the Cities in the same Circuit; so that Those who were of *Carbo's* Faction flying, and all Others chearfully submitting to his Command, in a little time he muster'd up three entire Legions, having supplied himself beside with all manner of Provisions, Ammunition, Beasts, Carriages, and all other Implements of War. And in this Equipage he set forwards on his March towards *Sylla*, not with Whip and Spur, as if he were in haste, nor yet in a Cloud, as if he coveted to be concealed, but by small Journeys, making several Halts upon the Road, to distress and annoy the Enemy, designing to insinuate himself in every part of *Italy* wherever he came, and to work them into a Revolt and Defection from *Carbo*.

Now there arose together against him three great Commanders of the Enemy, *Carinnas*, *Celius*, and *Brutus*, and drew up their Forces, not all in the Front, nor yet together on any one part, but encamping three several Armies in a Circle about him, they resolved to encompass and devour him at once;

Pompey was no ways amaz'd at This, but drawing up all his Forces into one Body, and placing his Horse in the Front of the Battel, where He himself was in Person, he singled out and bent all his Forces against *Brutus*. The Enemy's Horse consisting chiefly of *Gauls*, stood the first Shock, but *Pompey* singling out their Commander, a brave and gallant Officer, encounter'd him Hand to Hand, and watching his Opportunity, made a home Pass at him with his Lance, and slew him: The rest seeing This, turned their Backs, and fled in great Disorder, falling foul upon Themselves, and breaking the Ranks of their own Foot, insomuch that it presently caused a total Rout; whereupon the Commanders fell out among Themselves, and every one marched off, steering their Course Some one way, Some another, as their Fortunes led them: The Towns likewise round about came in and surrendered to *Pompey*, when they saw that the Enemy was dispersed for fear. Next after These, came *Scipio* the Consul to attack him, and with as little Success; for before the Armies could join, or be within the Throw of their Darts, *Scipio's* Soldiers saluted *Pompey's*, and came over to them; but *Scipio* made his Escape by Flight. Last of all, *Carbo* Himself sent down divers Regiments of Horse by the River *Arfis*, which *Pompey* assailed with the same Courage and Success as before; for having routed and put them to Flight, he forced them in the pursuit upon moorish and boggy Places, altogether unpassable for Horse, where seeing no Hopes of Escape, they cry'd out Quarter, yielding themselves, Horse and Armour, all to his Mercy.

Sylla was hitherto unacquainted with all these Exploits, but as soon as common Fame had brought him Intelligence of it, he seem'd extremely concern'd, fearing lest *Pompey* should be circumvented and oppressed by so Many, and such experienced

Com-

Commanders of the Enemy, whereupon he marched with all speed to his Aid. Now *Pompey* having Advice of his Approach, sent out Orders to his Officers, commanding them to marshal and draw up all his Forces in Battel Array, that they might appear in the greatest Order and Bravery before their General; for he expected indeed great Honours from him, but he met with greater; for as soon as *Sylla* saw him thus advancing, his Army so well appointed, and such goodly Men, adorned and elevated with all the Glories of Youth and Victory, he alighted from his Horse, and being first, (as he ought to be) saluted by the Title of *IMPERATOR*, he return'd the Salutation upon *Pompey*, in the same Term and Style, contrary to the Expectations of All that were present, who little dream'd that he would have imparted such an honourable Title to one so young, and who was not yet a Senator, especially considering how desperately He himself had contended for that very Title and Dignity, against the Factions of *Scipio* and *Marius*. And indeed all the rest of his Department was agreeable to his first Compliments; for whenever *Pompey* came into his Presence, he did some sort of Obedience to him, either in rising and being uncover'd, or the like, which he was rarely seen to have done to any of the rest of his Nobles, notwithstanding there were divers others about him of great Valour, as well as Quality. Yet was not *Pompey* puffed up at all, or exalted with these Favours: And therefore when *Sylla* would have sent him with all Expedition into *Gallia Celtica*, a Province under the Government of *Metellus*, for that it was thought *Metellus* had done nothing memorable, at leastwise worthy of that great Army he commanded there: *Pompey* reply'd as modestly, (1) *That it could never*

(1) This is the Answer of a Man at present, who on the like Occasion truly Great. I question whether we have many Officers among us | sion would shew such a Moderation.

be thought fair or honourable for Him, to extort a Province out of the Hands of an antient Captain, and one of far greater Fame and Experience than Himself; however if Metellus were willing, and would command his Service, he should be very ready to accompany and assist him in the War. Which when Metellus came to understand, he approved of the Motion, and accordingly invited him over by Letter. Whereupon Pompey fell immediately like Lightning into Gaul, where he did not only do wonderful Exploits of Himself, but also blew up and kindled anew that bold and warlike Spirit, which old Age had in a manner extinguished in Metellus, having the same Operation with molten or boiling Copper, which being poured upon That which is cold and solid, seems to dissolve and melt it faster than Fire itself. But I must observe the same Course here as is done with a famous Wrestler, who though he has excelled all Men in those Games even from his Youth, and always born away the Prize with Glory, yet it is not usual to account of his childish Victories, or enter them upon Record among the rest: So for the Exploits of Pompey in his Minority, though they were brave in Themselves, yet because they were obscured and buried in the multitude and greatness of his latter Wars and Conquests, I dare not be particular in them, lest by trifling away Time in the lesser Moments of his Youth, I should casually omit those grander Actions and Enterprises, which best discover the natural Disposition and singular Genius of the Man.

Now, when Sylla had brought all Italy under his Dominion, and was proclaimed Dictator, he began to reward the rest of his Followers, giving them Estates, advancing them to Places of Honour and Trust, and largely and liberally gratifying every Man according to his Talent and Desire. But for Pompey, he was a great Admirer of his Valour and

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Conduct, and thinking that he might prove a great Stay and Support to him hereafter in all his Affairs, sought by all means to espouse and join him in Alliance to him, and having likewise the Approbation of his Wife *Metella*, they persuaded him to put away *Antistia*, and marry *Æmylia* (the Daughter-in-law of *Sylla*, by *Metella*, and *Scaurus* her former Husband) she being at that very time the Wife of another Man, cohabiting with him, and with Child by him. These were the very Tyrannies of Marriage, and much more agreeable to the Times under *Sylla*, than to the Nature and Genius of *Pompey*, That *Æmylia* great with Child should be, as it were, ravished from the Embraces of Another for Him; and that *Antistia* should be divorced with Dishonour and Misery by Him, for whose sake she had been but just before bereft of her Father; to be at once both a Widow and Fatherless by his means; for her Father *Antistius* was murdered in the Senate, because he was suspected to be a Favourer of *Sylla* for *Pompey's* sake; and her Mother likewise, after she had seen all these Indignities, made away with herself. These were Tragedies that attended that unhappy Marriage, and that there might be nothing wanting to compleat the last Act, even *Æmylia* herself not long after dy'd at *Pompey's* in Child-bed.

About this time an Express came to *Sylla*, That *Perpenna* had possessed himself of *Sicily*, whereby that Isle was now become a Refuge and Receptacle for the Reliques of the adverse Party: That *Carbo* was hovering about those Seas with a Navy: That *Domitius* was fallen in upon *Africa*; and that many of the Exiled Nobles, who fled before they were proscribed, were daily flocking into those Parts. Against these therefore was *Pompey* sent with a great Army; and no sooner was he arrived in *Sicily*, but *Perpenna* departed thence, leaving the whole Island to him. Wherefore *Pompey* received the

the distress'd Cities into Favour, and treated All with great Humanity, except that of the *Mamertines* in *Messene*; for when they protested against his Court and Jurisdiction, alledging their Privilege and Exemption founded upon an ancient Charter or Grant of the *Romans*, he replied as sharply, *What! will you ne'er leave quoting Law-Cases to Us who have our Swords by our sides?* It is thought likewise, that he shewed but little Humanity to *Carbo*, seeming rather to insult over his Misfortunes, than to chastise his Crime; for if there had been a Necessity (as perhaps there was) that he should be taken off, That might have been done at first, as soon as he was taken Prisoner, for then it would have been the Act of Him that commanded it, and imputed to His Malice; but here *Pompey* commands a Man (that had been thrice Consul of *Rome*) to be brought in Fetters to the Bar, He himself sitting upon the Bench in Judgment, examining the Cause throughout all the Formalities of Law, and pronouncing Sentence of Death, as upon a common Malefactor, to the Grief and Indignation of All that were present, and afterwards he order'd him to be taken away and put to Death. Now it is reported of *Carbo*, that as soon as he was brought to the Scaffold, and saw the Sword drawn for Execution, it wrought so with him, that immediately he had a looseness or pain in his Belly, insomuch that he desired a little Respite of the Executioner, and a convenient Place to ease himself. But yet farther, (1) *C. Oppius*, a

(1) The same that wrote the *Spanish War*. He was likewise the Author of several other Works, among which was That of the Lives of illustrious Men; for his Life of *Cassius*, of the first *Scipio Africanus*, and of *Marius*, are quoted by other Writers. *Suetonius*

reckons him among the most intimate of *Caesar's* Friends, and to shew how zealous he was for him, he saith, that he had written a Treatise on Purpose to prove *non esse Caesaris filium quem Cleopatra dicat*, That *Caesar* was not the Son of *Caesar*, as *Cleopatra* pretended.

great

great Friend of *Cæsar's*, tells us, That *Pompey* dealt as barbarously with *Q. Valerius*, a Man of singular Learning, especially in Philology and Mathematicks few like him; for when he was brought to him, he walked aside, and discoursed with him; and after a long Conference, and full Solution of all his Questions, having learned what he could, he ordered his Officers to take him away, and put him to Death. But we must not be too credulous in all the Narratives of *Oppius*, especially when he undertakes to relate any thing touching the Friends or Foes of *Cæsar*: This is certain, That there lay a Necessity upon *Pompey* to be severe upon many of *Sylla's* Enemies, Those at leastwise that were Eminent Persons in Themselves, and notoriously known to be taken; but for the rest, he dealt with them after his own natural Temper, conniving at the Concealment of Some, and Himself being the Instrument in the Escape of Others. And the like Argument of his Clemency was shewn in the Case of the *Himeræans*; for when *Pompey* had determined a sharp Revenge upon their City, for that they had been stubborn Abettors of the Enemy, there stepped out one *Sthenes*, a great Leader of the People, and craving Audience of *Pompey*, told him, *That what he was about to do, was not at all consistent with Justice, for that he would pass by the Guilty, and destroy the Innocent: Pompey* demanding, *Who that guilty Person was that would father the Offences of them All?* *Sthenes* replied, *It was himself, who had wrought upon and engaged his Friends by Persuasions, and his Enemies by Force:* Whereupon *Pompey* being much taken with the frank Speech and Gallantry of the Man, first forgave him his Crime, and then pardoned all the rest of the *Himeræans*. *Pompey* likewise hearing, That his Soldiers were very disorderly in their March, doing Violence upon the Roads,

Roads, (1) he ordered their Swords to be sealed up in their Scabbards, and whosoever kept them not so, were severely punished.

Whilst *Pompey* was thus busie in the Affairs and Government of *Sicily*, he received a Decree of the Senate, and a Commission from *Sylla*, commanding him forthwith to sail into *Africa*, and make War upon *Domitius* with all his Forces: For *Domitius* had rallied up a far greater Army than *Marius* had not long since, when he sailed out of *Africa* into *Sicily*, and extreemly distressed the Affairs of the *Romans*, being Himself of a fugitive Out-law, become a Tyrant. *Pompey* therefore having prepared all things of a sudden, and left *Memmius*, his Sister's Husband, Governor of *Sicily*, embarked and set sail with one hundred and twenty Galleys, and eight hundred other Vessels, laden with Provisions, Money, Ammunition, Engines of Battery, and all other Necessaries. In this Equipage he arrived with his Fleet, part at the Port of *Utica*, part at *Carthage*; and no sooner was he landed there, but that seven thousand of the Enemy revolted and came over to him, which besides his own Forces that he brought with him, (consisting of six entire Legions) made up an Army of forty three thousand Fighting-men. Here they tell us of a pleasant Passage that happened to him at his first Arrival; for some of his Soldiers having by accident stumbled upon a Treasure, whereby they got a good Mass of Money; the rest of the Army hearing this, began to fancy that the Field was full of Gold and Silver, which had been hid there of old by the *Carthaginians* in the time of their Calamities, and thereupon fell to work, so that the Army was useless to *Pompey* for many days,

(1) This is an Expedient never thought on before *Pompey*, nor imitated ever since, at least I do not remember to have met with any Instance of it. It might serve in the times of the *Romans*, but would be of no use at present.

being totally engaged in digging for the fancied Treasure, He himself all the while walking up and down only, and laughing to see so many thousands together, digging and turning up the Earth: But at last, growing weary and hopeless, they came to themselves, and returned to their General, begging him *to lead them where he pleased, for that they had already reaped the just Reward of their Folly*. By this time *Domitius* had prepared himself, and drawn out his Army in Battel-array against *Pompey*; but there happened to be a rapid Torrent in the Valley betwixt them, craggy, and difficult to pass over, which together with a great Storm of Wind and Rain pouring down even from break of Day, seemed to shew but little possibility of their coming together: Insomuch that *Domitius*, not expecting any Engagement that Day, commanded his Forces to draw off and retire to the Camp. Now *Pompey*, who was watchful upon every Occasion, making use of the Opportunity, ordered a March forthwith, and having passed over the Torrent, they fell in immediately upon their Quarters. The Enemy was in a great Disorder and Tumult, and in that Confusion attempted a Resistance; but they were neither all there, nor did they support one another; besides, the Wind having veered about, lay beating the Rain full in their Faces. Neither indeed was the Storm less troublesome to the *Romans*, for that they could not clearly discern one another, insomuch that even *Pompey* Himself, being unknown, escaped but narrowly; for when one of his Soldiers demanded of him the Word of Battel, it happened that he was somewhat slow in his Answer, which might have cost him his Life.

The Enemy being routed with a great Slaughter, (for it is said, that of twenty thousand there escaped but three thousand) the Army saluted *Pompey* by the Name of Emperor; but he declined it, telling

telling them, *That he could not by any means accept of that Title, as long as the Enemy's Camp remain'd untouch'd; but if they designed to make him worthy of the Honour, That was first to be demolish'd.* The Soldiers hearing This, went presently and made an Assault upon the Works and Trenches, and there Pompey fought without his Helmet, in Memory of his former Danger, and to avoid the like, the Camp being thus taken by Storm, they were All put to the Sword, and, among the rest, *Domitius* was slain upon the Place. After that Overthrow, the Cities of the Country thereabouts were all taken in, Some by Surrender, and Others by Storm: King *Jarbas* likewise, a Confederate and Auxiliary of *Domitius*, was taken Prisoner, and his Kingdom given to *Hiempsal*.

Pompey could not rest here, but being ambitious to follow the good Fortune and Valour of his Army, he fell into *Numidia*, and marching forward many Days Journeys up into the Country, he conquered all where-ever he came, resolving that by his Hand the Name and Power of the *Roman* Empire (which was now almost obliterated among the Barbarous Nations) should be revived again, and appear as formidable as ever; he said likewise, *That the wild Beasts of Africa ought not to be left without some Experience of the Courage and Success of the Romans;* and therefore he bestowed some few Days in hunting of Lions and Elephants: Now it is said, that it was not above the space of Forty Days at the utmost, in which he gave a total Overthrow to the Enemy, reduced *Africa*, and established the Affairs of the Kings and Kingdoms of all that Country, being then but twenty four Years of Age.

When Pompey returned back to the City of *Utica*, there were presented to him Letters and Orders from *Sylla*, commanding him to disband the

the rest of his Army, and Himself with one Legion only to wait there the coming of another General, that should succeed him in the Government of that Province; This grated inwardly, and was extreamly grievous to *Pompey*, though he made no shew of it; but the Army resented it openly, and therefore when *Pompey* besought them to depart home before him, they began to revile *Sylla*, and gave out broad Speeches, *That they were resolved not to forsake him, neither did they think it safe for him to trust the Tyrant.* Notwithstanding this, *Pompey* endeavoured to appease and pacifie them by fair Speeches; but when he saw that all his Persuasions were vain, he left the Bench, and retired to his Tent with Tears in his Eyes; but the Soldiers followed him, and seizing upon him, by force brought him again, and placed him in his Chair of State; where great part of that Day was spent in Dispute, They on their Part persuading him to stay and command them; He on the other side, pressing upon them Obedience, and the danger of Mutinies; but at last, when they grew more importunate and clamorous, he swore, (1) *That he would kill himself if they attempted to force him;* and yet even This would scarce appease them. However, This gave occasion and rise to some malicious Reports, whereby it was suggested to *Sylla*, That *Pompey* was up in Rebellion; whereupon *Sylla* said to some of his Friends, *Well, then I see it is my Destiny to contend with Children in my old Age:* Reflecting likewise upon *Marius*, for that He, being but a meer Youth, had found him Work enough, and brought his Affairs into extream Danger. But *Sylla* being undeceived afterwards by a better Intelligence, and

(1) There is not in all History an Example of greater Fidelity and Obedience. Who but *Pompey*, at such an Age, could have resisted so powerful a Temptation, especially considering that *Sylla* was then declining, for he died two Years after?

hearing that the whole City in a manner had designed to meet *Pompey*, and receive him with all Kindness and Honour, He himself endeavoured to exceed them All in Civility, and therefore going out foremost to meet him, and embracing him with great Joy, he gave him his Welcome aloud in the Title of *Pompey the Great*, and commanded all Those that were present to call him by that Name: Others say, that he had this Title first given him by a general Acclamation of all the Army in *Africa*, but that it was settled by the Ratification of *Sylla*; but This is true, That He himself was the last that owned the Title; for it was a long time after, when he was sent Proconsul into *Spain* against *Sertorius*, that he began to subscribe himself in his Letters and Commissions by the Name of *Pompey the Great*, even then when the Envy of the Title was worn off by being common and familiar. Hence may the Wisdom of the ancient *Romans* be justly revered and had in Admiration, that did not only reward the Successes of Action and Conduct in War with such honourable Titles, but adorned likewise the Virtues and Services of eminent Men in the Civil Government with the same Distinctions and Characters of Honour; and therefore the People styled Two by the Names of *Maximi*, i. e. the Greatest; (1) *Valerius*, for that he reconciled the Senate to the People when they were at variance; and (2) *Fabius Rullus*, for that he put out of the Senate certain *Libertines*, Sons of freed

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Pompey upon his Return to *Rome* desired the Honour of a Triumph, which *Sylla* opposed stiffly, alledging; (1) *That the Law allowed that Honour to none but Consuls and Prætors, and therefore Scipio the elder, who subdued the Carthaginians in Spain in far greater and nobler Conflicts, never so much as petitioned for a Triumph, because he had never attained to the Office of Consul or Prætor: And if Pompey (who had scarce a Hair in his Face, nor was yet of Age to be a Senator) should enter the City in Triumph, what a Load of Envy would it cast at once upon Sylla's Government and Pompey's Honour? These were the Arguments Sylla used against Pompey, at the same time declaring that he would never suffer him to triumph, but if he still persisted in his Pretensions, he was resolved to interpose his Power, and lay a Prohibition upon him, as a Lover of Contention and Disobedience: Pompey, neither convinced by his Arguments, nor terrified by his Menaces, wished Sylla to recollect with himself, That more worshiped the Rising than the Setting Sun; intimating thereby, That His Power was increasing, and Sylla's in the wane: Sylla did not perfectly hear the Words, but observing a sort of Amazement and Wonder in the Looks and Gestures of Those that did hear them, he asked what it was he said: When it was told him, he seemed to be very much surprized with the Boldness of Pompey, and cryed out twice together, *Let him triumph, let him triumph.* But when Others began to shew their Stomach and Disdain, Pompey, as it is said, to gall and vex them*

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the more, designed to have his Triumphant Chariot drawn with four Elephants, (having brought over several which belonged to the *African Kings*) but the Gates of the City being too narrow, he was forced to desist from that Project, and make use of Horses: In the next place, some of his Soldiers, who had failed of some Reward, or been some way or other disappointed) began to clamour, and interrupt the Triumph; but *Pompey* regarded These as little as the rest, and plainly told them, *That he had rather lose the Honour of his Triumph, than flatter Them.* Whereupon *Servilius* (a Person of great Quality, and at first one of the chiefest Opposers of *Pompey's* Triumph,) said openly, *Now I perceive that Pompey is truly Great, and worthy of Triumph; it is clearly manifest, that he might easily have been a Senator if he would, yet he did not sue for That; being ambitious of more unusual Honours. For what wonder had it been for Pompey in his Non-age, to sit in the Senate before his time? But to triumph before he was of the Senate, That was the Excess of Glory to a Miracle.*

This Contest of His with *Sylla* for a Triumph did not a little ingratiate him in the Good-will of the People; for it could not but be extreamly grateful for Them, to see one of their Own Order in Triumph, and then to return to Them again, and take his Place among the *Roman Knights*. On the other side, it was no less ungrateful to *Sylla* to see how fast he came on, and to what a height of Glory and Power he was advanced; yet being ashamed to hinder him, he smothered his Grief, and lay quiet; but when by plain Force, and in spite of him, *Pompey* procured the Consulship for (1) *Lepidus*, having

(1) *M. Emilius Lepidus*, who by *Pompey's* Interest was declared Consul with *Q. Lutatius Catulus* for the Year of Rome 675. This *Lepidus* was a Person of a very

turbulent seditious Temper, and one of the worst of Men, as *Sylla* tells *Pompey* in this Place, and as it was soon verifig in the Event.

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by his own Interest reconciled him to the Favour of the People, *Sylla* could not contain himself any longer, but spying him after the Election, as he was crossing the Market-place with a great Train after him, cried out to him, *Well, young Man! I see thou rejoicest in thy Conquest; and for what Cause, I pr'ythee? Is it not a generous and worthy Act, think you, that the Priority of Consulship should be given to Lepidus the vilest of Men, against Catulus the best and most deserving Man in all the City? and all This, forsooth, by your Influence upon the People: Well, This I'll advise thee, and look to it, that thou dost not sleep, but keep a Vigilant Eye upon thy Affairs; for thou hast raised up a dangerous Enemy to greater Power than thy self.* But That which gave the clearest Demonstration of *Sylla's* Ill-will to *Pompey*, was his last Will and Testament; for whereas he had bequeathed several Legacies to all the rest of his Friends, and appointed Some of them Guardians to his Son, he passed by *Pompey* without the least remembrance: However *Pompey* bore This with great Moderation and Civility; insomuch that when *Lepidus* and Others obstructed his Interment in the *Campus Martius*, denying indeed any publick Solemnity of a Funeral, He himself attended the Herse; thereby giving both Honour and Security to it, and having his Obsequies performed with all the Pomp and Solemnity of a *Roman* General.

Shortly after the Death of *Sylla*, that prophetic Speech of His to *Pompey* touching *Lepidus* came to pass; for *Lepidus* usurping the Government and Authority that *Sylla* had, did not go about by Fetches, nor yet colourably on specious Pretences, but immediately took up Arms, having stirred up again, and guarded himself with the corrupted Remains of that Faction that had escaped the Vengeance of *Sylla*: Now *Catulus* his Collegue, who was followed by the sounder Part of the Se-

nate and People, was a Man of the greatest Esteem among the *Romans*, for his singular Wisdom and Justice; but his Talent lay in the Government of the City, rather than the Camp, being no great Man of War, whereas the Exigency of Affairs in this Juncture required rather the Skill and Experience of *Pompey*. *Pompey* therefore was not long in suspense which way to dispose of himself, but joining with the Nobility, was presently appointed General of the Army against *Lepidus*; who had already over-run the greatest Part of *Italy*, and likewise brought *Gallia Cisalpina* in Subjection with an Army under the Conduct of *Brutus*. As for the rest of his Garrisons, *Pompey* subdued them with Ease in his March, but *Mutina* in *Gaul* engaged him in a formal Siege, where he lay a long time encamped against *Brutus*: In the mean time *Lepidus* marched in all haste against *Rome*, and sitting down before it with a mixed Rabble, consisting of the Scum of all *Italy*, demanded a second Consulship, whereby he struck no small Terror into the Besieged; but that Fear quickly vanished, upon some Letters sent from *Pompey*, advertising, That he had ended the War without a Battel; for *Brutus*, either betraying his Army, or being betrayed by them upon their Revolt, rendered himself to *Pompey*, who ordered a Parry of Horse to conduct him to a little Village on the *Po*; where he was slain the next Day by *Geminus*, in execution of *Pompey's* Commands: Upon This, *Pompey* was grossly censured; for having at the beginning of the Revolt written to the Senate, and informed them, that *Brutus* had voluntarily surrendered himself; the very next Day after he sent other Letters, containing Matter of Charge or Accusation against the Man, after he was taken off, which was somewhat unaccountable. This *Brutus* was the Father of Him, who together with *Cassius* slew *Cæ-*

far, and who was neither in War, nor in his Death, like his Father, as we have described at large in his Life. *Lepidus* upon This being driven out of *Italy*, fled to *Sardinia*, where he fell sick and died, having his Heart broken with Sorrow, not for his Losses or Misfortunes, as they say, but upon the receipt of a Letter, wherein he was assured that his Wife had plaid the Harlot.

During these Transactions, *Sertorius*, another-guess sort of Commander than *Lepidus*, had possessed himself of *Spain*, and was grown formidable to the *Romans*; for all the Remains of the preceding Civil Wars were collected and united under Him; like noxious Humours gathering in one Part, where they become dangerous, and often incurable. This Man had already cut off divers inferior Commanders, and was now buckling with *Metellus Pius*, a Man of Honour and a Soldier, though perhaps he might now seem too slow by reason of his Age, to second and improve the happier Moments of War, and might be sometimes wanting to those Advantages which *Sertorius* by his Sharpness and Dexterity would wrest out of his Hands: For he was always hovering about, and coming upon him unawares, like a Captain of Thieves rather than Soldiers, pestering him perpetually with Ambuscadoes and light Skirmishes; whereas *Metellus*, like a good old Wrestler, was accustomed to nothing but regular Conduct, and Fighting in Battel-array with his Legionary Soldiers well armed. *Pompey* therefore having his Army in readiness, made it his whole Court and Practice to be sent in Aid to *Metellus*; neither would he be brought to disband his Forces, notwithstanding that *Catulus* had commanded it, but by some colourable Device or other he still kept them in Arms about the City, until the Senate at last thought fit to decree him that Government. *L. Phi-*

lippus was the first that moved it in the Senate, where they say one of the Senators, surprized at the Motion, demanded of *Philip* whether his Meaning was, *That Pompey should be sent into Spain Pro-consul*, i. e. *instead of a Consul*: No, replied *Philip*, but *Pro Consulibus*, i. e. *instead of both Consuls*; intimating, that the Consuls for that Year were Men of no Merit, and incapable of managing the War in that Province. Now when *Pompey* was arrived in *Spain*, (as it is usual upon the Fame of a new Leader) Men began to be raised with new Hopes, and those Nations that had not entered into a very strict League and Alliance with *Sertorius*, began to waver and revolt; whereupon *Sertorius* gave out very arrogant and scornful Speeches against *Pompey*, saying in Derision, *That he should want no other Weapon but a Ferula and Rod to chastise this Boy with, if he were not afraid of that old Woman*, meaning *Metellus*: Yet for all his proud Words, in deed and reality he stood in awe of *Pompey*, as appeared by all his Actions and Conduct throughout the whole management of the War, wherein he was observed ever after to stand better upon his Guard, and engage more warily than before: For *Metellus* (which one would not have imagined) was grown very debauched in his Life, having given himself over excessively to Riot and Pleasure; and, from Moderate and Temperate, became on a sudden Dissolute and Proud: So that this very thing gained a wonderful Reputation and Honour to *Pompey*, as an Example of Frugality, although that Virtue was habitual in him, and required no great Industry to exercise it, for he was naturally inclined to Temperance, and no ways inordinate in his Affections. Here Fortune, as it is common in War, shewed variety of Changes; but nothing came so near to *Pompey* as the taking of the City *Lauro*n by *Sertorius*; For when *Pompey* thought he had him safe

enclosed,

enclosed, and had boasted largely of raising the Siege, He himself appeared of a sudden to be encompassed; insomuch that he durst not move out of his Camp, but was forced with Sorrow to sit still, whilst the City was taken, and in Flames before his Face. However he soon had his Revenge, for in an Engagement near *Valentia* he defeated *Herrennius* and *Perpenna*, two experienced Commanders, who had joined *Sertorius*, and served as Lieutenants under him, and slew above ten thousand of their Men. *Pompey* being exalted and puffed up with this Victory, made all the haste imaginable to engage *Sertorius* Himself, and the rather lest *Metellus* should come in for a share in the Honour of the Victory: So that in the Evening, towards Sun-set, they joined Battel near the River *Sucon*, Both being in great fear lest *Metellus* should come; *Pompey*, that he might engage in the Combate Alone; *Sertorius*, that he might engage but with One alone. The Issue of the Battel proved doubtful, for a Wing of each Side had the better; but of the Generals, *Sertorius* had the greater Honour, for he maintained his Post at the Head of the Wing he commanded, and overthrew All that were sent to attack him: Whereas *Pompey* was worsted in His part of the Battel, and Himself almost a Prisoner; for being set upon by a mighty Man of Arms that fought on Foot, as they were closely engaged Hand to Hand, the Stroaks of their Swords chanced to light upon each other's Hand, but with a different Success; for *Pompey's* was a slight Wound only, whereas he lopt off the other's Hand: However, it happened so, that Many falling upon *Pompey* together, and his own Forces there being put to the Rout, he made his Escape beyond Expectation, by quitting his Horse, and turning him up among the Enemy; for the Horse being richly adorned with Golden Trappings, and having
a Capa-

a Caparison of great Value, the Soldiers quarrelled among themselves for the Booty, so that while they were Fighting with one another, and dividing the Spoil, *Pompey* made his Escape. By break of Day the next Morning each drew out his Forces into the Field to confirm the Victory, to which each of them severally laid a Claim; but *Metellus* coming up, *Sertorius* and his whole Army vanished on a sudden; for in such a manner did he use to raise and disband his Forces, so that sometimes he would be wandering up and down all alone, and in a trice he would come pouring into the Field at the Head of a puissant Army, no less than a hundred and fifty thousand Fighting-men, swelling of a sudden like a mighty Torrent or Winter-flood.

The Dispute being thus fortunately terminated by *Sertorius's* Retreat, *Pompey* went to receive and welcome *Metellus*, and as he drew nigh, and was in Sight, he commanded his Serjeants to lower their Rods in Honour of *Metellus* as his superior Officer; but *Metellus* on the other side forbad it, and behaved himself very obligingly to him in all things, not claiming any Prerogative either in respect of his Consulship, or Seniority: excepting only that when they encamped together, the Watch-word was given to the whole Camp by *Metellus*. But generally they had their Camps asunder, being divided and distracted by the Enemy, that was in all Shapes, and being always in Motion, would by a wonderful Artifice appear in divers Places almost in the same instant, drawing them from one sort of Fight to another in perpetual Skirmishes: And at last keeping them from foraging, wasting the Country, and getting Dominion of the Sea, he drove them Both out of that part of *Spain* which was committed to their Care, and forced them for want of Necessaries to retreat into the Governments of Others.

Pompey

Pompey having made use of and expended the greatest part of his own Revenue upon the War, sent to the Senate, and demanded Money of them for the Payment of his Troops, adding, That in case they did not furnish him speedily, he should be forced to return into *Italy* with his Army. *Lucullus* being Consul at that time, (though indeed he was an Enemy to *Pompey*, yet) in Consideration that He himself was a Candidate for a War against *Mithridates*, he procured and hastened the Supplies, fearing lest there should be any pretence or occasion given to *Pompey* of returning home, who of Himself was no less desirous of leaving *Sertorius*, than ambitious of undertaking the War against *Mithridates*, as an Enemy where the Enterprize in all Appearance would prove much more honourable and less dangerous. In the mean time *Sertorius* died, being treacherously murdered by Some of his own Party. *Perpenna*, who was chief of the Party that murdered him, undertook to supply his Place, and follow his Steps, having indeed the same Forces, the same Ammunition and Means, yet there was still wanting the same Wit, Skill and Conduct, in the use and managery of them. *Pompey* therefore marched directly against *Perpenna*, and finding him ignorant and perplexed in his Affairs, had a Decoy ready for him, and so sent out a Detachment of ten Companies with Orders to range up and down the Fields, and disperse themselves abroad, as if they were foraging, or in quest of some Booty; this Bait took accordingly, for no sooner had *Perpenna* quarried upon the Prey and had them in Chace, but *Pompey* appeared suddenly with all his Army, and joining Battel, gave him a total Overthrow; so that most of his Commanders were slain in the Field, and He himself being brought Prisoner to *Pompey*, was by his Order put to Death. Neither ought

Pompey

The LIFE of

Pompey to be arraigned of Ungratefulness or Oblivion, in that he had been unmindful of his Transactions with *Perpenna* in *Sicily*, (as Some would charge him) since it is clear that what he did in this Case, was prudently determined upon solid Reason and deliberate Counsel, for the security of his Country: For *Perpenna* having in his Custody all *Sertorius* his Papers, shewed several Letters from the greatest Men in *Rome*, who (affecting a Change and Subversion of the Government) had invited *Sertorius* into *Italy*; wherefore *Pompey* fearing lest by These he should stir and blow up greater Flames of War than Those that had been already extinguished, thought it expedient both to take off *Perpenna*, and likewise to burn the Letters without reading them.

After This *Pompey* tarried and spent so much time in *Spain*, as was necessary for the suppressing the Tumults in that Province; and as soon as he had qualified and allayed the violent Heats of Affairs there, he returned with his Army into *Italy*, where he arrived very luckily in the height of the *Servile War*. Upon the Approach of *Pompey*, *Crassus*, who had been declared General in that War, made all the Expedition imaginable to give them Battel, wherein he shew'd more Ambition than Prudence; however the Event answer'd his Wishes, for he slew upon the Spot twelve thousand three hundred of those fugitive Slaves. And yet, notwithstanding all his Foresight and Diligence, it was ordained by Fortune that *Pompey* should share with him in the Glory of the Success; for five thousand of Them who had escaped out of the Battel fell into his Hands; wherefore when he had totally cut them off, to be before-hand with *Crassus*, he wrote to the Senate, That *Crassus* indeed had overthrown
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the Fencers in Battel, but that (1) He had plucked up the War it self by the Roots. This the Romans heard with Pleasure, and were glad to believe it from their Love and Affection to Pompey, which was so great, that of all the grand Exploits in Spain, preceding and in consequence of the Defeat of Sertorius, they wou'd not suffer One of them, not so much as in jest, to be ascribed to any Person but Pompey. And yet this great Honour and Veneration of the Man was always accompanied with Fears and Jealousies, that he would not disband his Army, but that affecting Monarchy, he design'd clearly (2) to follow the Policies of Sylla, and govern by a standing Army; wherefore in the number of All those that ran out to meet him and congratulate his Return, as many went out of Fear as Affection; but after that Pompey had removed this Suggestion, by declaring before-hand, That he would discharge the Army after his Triumph, Those that envied him still complain'd that he affected Popularity, courting the common People more than the Nobility, and whereas Sylla had taken away the Tribuneship of the People, He design'd to gratifie

(1) It is something surprizing that Pompey, after the many gallant Actions he had performed, shou'd lay so great a Stress upon the Defeat of five thousand Slaves, overthrown to his Hand, and running from the Field of Battel, where their whole Army had been entirely routed by Crassus. But the ambitious Man brings every thing to his own Account, and even Pompey was not above that low Piece of Vanity.

(2) No body doubted but That was his Design, which made Cicero tell Atticus in *Epist. vii. lib. 9.* *Mirandum enim in modum Cneius*

noster Syllani regni Similitudinem concupivit. εἰδὼς σοι λέγω, nihil ille unquam minus obscure tulit. 'Our Friend Pompey is wonderfully desirous to obtain a Power like That of Sylla. I tell you no more than what I know of a certain, he makes no Secret of it. And *Epist. x. lib. 9. Hoc turpe Cneius noster biennio ante cogitavit, ita Syllaturit animus ejus, & prescripturit.* 'Pompey has been forming this shameful Design for these two Years last past, so strongly has his Mind been bent upon imitating Sylla, and prescribing like Him.

them

them in restoring that Office; which was very true, for there was not any one thing that the People of *Rome* did so wildly doat on, or more passionately desire, than the Restauration of that Government, insomuch that *Pompey* thought himself extreamly fortunate in this Opportunity, despairing ever (if he were prevented in This) of meeting with any other, wherein he might express his Gratitude in Compensation of all those Favours which he had received from the People. Now though (1) a second Triumph was decreed him, and he was declar'd Consul, yet all these Honours were not so great an Evidence of his Power and Glory, as the Ascendant which he had over *Crassus*: For He (the wealthiest among all the Statesmen of his Time, the most eloquent and greatest too, a Man of that Pride that he despised even *Pompey* Himself, and all others as beneath him) durst not appear a Candidate for the Consulship before he had made his Address to *Pompey*, and demanded his Leave and Protection. *Pompey* very readily espous'd his Interest, for he had a long time sought an Occasion of obliging him, and of contracting a Friendship with him; so that he earnestly solicited for *Crassus*, and entreated the People heartily, declaring, *That their Favour would be no less to him in chusing Crassus his Colleague, than in making Himself Consul.* Yet for all This when they were created Consuls, (2) they were always at variance, and opposing one another; now *Crassus* prevailed most in the Senate, and

(1) He triumphed towards the End of the Year of *Rome* 682, and at the same time was declared Consul for the Year ensuing. This was a peculiar Honour, to be declared Consul before he had born any other Office in the Government; but his two Triumphs

might well serve to excuse that Singularity.

(2) It cou'd not be otherwise, seeing they were engaged in two different Interests. *Crassus* stood up for the Senate and the Nobility, and *Pompey* for the People.

Pompey's

Pompey's Power was no less with the People, for that he restored to them the Office of *Tribune*, and had suffered the Judicature (1) again to be transferred upon the Knights by a Law. But He himself afforded them the most grateful Spectacle, when he appeared and craved his Discharge from the Wars: For it was an ancient Custom among the *Romans*, that the Knights when they had served out their legal time in the Wars, should lead their Horse into the *Forum* before the two Censors, and having given an account of the Commanders and Generals under Whom they served, as also of the Places and Actions in their Service, they were discharged, every Man with Honour or Disgrace according to his Deserts. There were then sitting upon the Bench two reverend Censors, *Gellius* and *Catulus*, with great Gravity taking a view of the *Roman* Knights who were then in muster, and under Examination before them; (2) when *Pompey* was seen afar off to come into the Market-place, with all the Marks and Ensigns of a Consul, but Himself leading his Horse in his Hand: As he drew near, he commanded his Officers to make way, and so he led his Horse to the Bench; the People were all this while in a sort of Amaze, and all in Silence, and the Censors themselves shewed him great Reverence, expressing a Modesty together with Joy in their Countenance: Then the Senior *Censor* examin'd him, *Pompey the Great*, *I demand of thee whether thou hast served out all that time in the Wars that is prescribed by the Law of Arms?* Yes, (replied *Pompey* with a loud Voice) *I have served*

(1) *L. Aurelius Cotta* carried that Law when he was *Prætor*, and *Plutarch* saith again, because *Caius Gracchus* had conveyed that Right to the Knights fifty Years before.

(2) How grateful a Sight must it be to the *Romans* to behold

Pompey, who had already received the Honour of two Triumphs, and was then Consul, appear before them, and, like an ordinary Knight, submit to the Examination of the Censors!

it. *All, (1) and All under my self as General; at This the People gave a great Shout, and were so transported with Joy, that there was no silencing their Exclamations. But the Censors rising from their Judgment-feat, accompanied him home to gratifie the Multitude, who followed after clapping their Hands, and shouting with great Signs of Joy.*

Pompey's Consulship was now expiring, and yet the Misunderstanding betwixt Him and Crassus his Collegue increas'd every Day, whereupon one Caius Aurelius a Knight, (but one that had declined Business all his Life-time) stood up and address'd himself in an Oration to the Assembly, declaring, That Jupiter had appeared to him in a Dream, commanding him to tell the Consuls, That they shou'd not quit their Office 'till they were reconciled, and become Friends. Pompey upon hearing This stood silent, but Crassus ran to him, and embracing him, spoke in this manner, I do not think, O ye Romans, that I shall do any thing mean or dishonourable, in yielding first to Pompey; even that Pompey whom you were pleas'd to enoble with the Title of Great, when as yet he scarce had a Hair in his Face; and granted the Honour of two Triumphs, when as yet he had no place in the Senate. Hereupon they were reconciled, and laid down their Government. Crassus kept to his former manner of Life, pleading Causes; but Pompey declined his Practice in a great measure, taking the Patronage of some few Causes only, so that by degrees he withdrew himself totally from the Courts and all Matters of Judgment, coming but seldom in publick; and whenever

(1) The Expression made use of by Pompey on this Occasion is very particular, and so was the Thing it self: for who before Pompey

ever bore Arms so very young, served so many Campaigns, and never under any other General but Himself?

he did, it was with a great Train after him; neither was it easie to meet or visit him without great Attendance; for his Delight was to appear guarded with a numerous Retinue, designing thereby to advance the Reverence and Majesty of his Presence, and preserve his Dignity entire from the Approaches and Conversation of the Multitude: For Men who have risen and grown great by Arms, and cannot stoop to that popular Equality which always prevails in a Commonwealth, (1) are easily betrayed into Contempt by a Change of Life, when they betake themselves to the Long-Robe, and plead Causes, for as much as they cannot fashion themselves to that popular Equality or Familiarity that is common among Citizens, expecting to be esteemed their Betters in the City, as they were in the Field; whereas on the contrary, the Pride and Folly of these Citizens is such that, though they cou'd make no Figure in the Camp, yet will they contend for Precedence in the City, and therefore it is that when a Warrior (crowned with Victories and Triumphs) shall turn Advocate, and ply the Courts among 'em, they endeavour presently by a malicious Pedantry to obscure his Glory, and depress him; whereas if he retires and leaves Them to rule the Roast in the City, they shall preserve his Honour and Authority beyond the reach of Envy; as appeared not long after by the things themselves.

The Power of the Pirates first broke out in *Cilicia*, and proved the more dangerous in its Con-

(1) *Plutarch* describes in this Place the Envy which the Men of the Robe bear to Those of the Sword, who having risen by their Arms, and valuing themselves upon their Services in the Field, endeavour to preserve the same Superiority at home, which they maintained

in the Army, and This puts the Gentlemen of the long Robe upon humbling them, and they often find it no hard Matter to carry their Point. For there are many Men who tho' they make a great Figure in the Field, are of little or no Significancy in the Cabinet.

sequences, (1) for that its Birth lay a long time concealed or neglected: Their Courage and Hardiness much increased during the Wars with *Mithridates*, where they hired themselves out, and became Stipendiaries in the King's Service. Afterwards, whilst the *Romans* were embroil'd in their Civil Wars, being engaged against one another even before the very Gates of *Rome*, the Seas lay waste and unguarded, which by degrees enticed and drew them on, not only to seize upon and spoil the Merchants and Ships upon the Seas, but also to lay waste the Islands and Sea-port Towns: So that now there embarked with these Pirates Men of great Wealth and Nobility, and of great Wisdom too, being incorporated into their Society or Fellowship as into a commendable State, not unworthy the Ambition of a *Roman*. They had divers *Arsenals*, or Piratick Harbours, as likewise Watch-towers, and Beacons all along the Sea-coast; they had a mighty Fleet well rigged and furnished with Galliot's of Oars, and as well mann'd too, with all the Flower of Youth, with expert Pilots and Mariners; there were their Ships of swift Sail also, and Pinnaces for Cruising and Discovery; neither was it thus dreadful only, but as gloriously set out too, so that they were more to be envied for their Bravery, than feared for their Force; having the Poops and Decks of their Galliot's all gilded, and the Oars plated with Silver, together with their purple Sails, as if their Delight were to glory in their Iniquity: There was nothing but Musick and Dancing, Banqueting

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which they were not at leisure to remedy, whilst their other Wars both civil and foreign hung upon their Hands. *Vid. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 6.*

and

and Revels all along the Shore. Sometimes they heard of some principal Officers taken by these Pirates, at other times of some Cities put under Contribution, to the Reproach and Dishonour of the *Roman Empire*. There were of these *Cor-sairs* above a thousand Sail, and they had taken no less than four hundred Cities, where they committed Sacrilege upon the Temples of the Gods, which 'till then had been held sacred and inviolable, such as Those of (1) *Apollo* the *Didymæan* in *Claros*, That of the *Cabiri* in *Samothracia*, (2) of *Ceres* in the City of *Hermione*, of *Esculapius* in *Epidaurus*; Those of *Neptune* in the *Isthmus*, at *Tenarus*, and in the Isle of *Calauria*; Those of *Apollo* at *Aëgium*, and in the Isle of *Leucas*, and Those of *Juno* at *Samos*, *Argos* and *Lucanium*. They likewise offer'd strange Sacrifices, such as are perform'd at (3) *Olympus*, and practis'd cer-

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and conveyed to *Hermione*, did there build a Temple to that Goddess, which was named *Cthonia*, and that her Festival was called by the same Name. And in his *Laconicals* he writes: It is said that the *Lacedæmonians* adore *Ceres* under the Name of *Cthonia*, and that they were instructed in her Rites by *Orpheus*. But I am of Opinion that the *Lacedæmonians* borrowed those Ceremonies from the City of *Hermione*, where *Ceres* had a Temple dedicated to her under that Name.

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tain secret Rites, or religious Mysteries, whereof That of (1) *Mithres* has been preserved down to our Age, having its Original and first Institution from Them. But besides these Piracies and Insolencies by Sea, they were yet more injurious to the *Romans* by Land; for they would often go ashore and rob upon the Highways; plundering and destroying their Villages and Country-houses near the Sea: And once they seiz'd upon two *Roman* Prætors, *Sextilius* and *Bellinus*, in their purple Robes, and carried them off, together with their Serjeants and Vergers: The Daughter also of *Antonius* (a Man who had received the Honour of a Triumph) was seized upon as she was going to her Country-seat, and was obliged to pay an excessive Sum for her Ransom. Nay their Insolence rose to such a pitch, that, adding Rallery to Rapin, when any of the Captives declared himself to be a *Roman* and told his Name, they seemed to be surprized, and straightway feigning a Fear, smote their Thighs, and fell down at his Feet, humbly beseeching him to be gracious, and forgive them. The credulous Captive seeing them so humble and supplicant, believed them to be in earnest, for Some were so officious as to put on his Shoes, Others help'd him on with his Gown, lest his Quality should be mistaken again: After all this Pageantry, at last when they had thus deluded and mock'd him long enough, they made out to Sea, and casting out a Ship's Ladder, they bid him march off, and wish'd him a good Journey home; if he refused, they threw him over-board, and drowned him. This Piratick

(1) *Herodotus* saith the *Persians* adored *Venus* under the Name of *Mithres*; but the most common Opinion is, that *Mithres* was the

Sun; for the Word *Mithri*, *Mithir* or *Mithra*, signifieth Lord in the *Persian* Language.

Power having got the Dominion and Sovereignty of all the *Mediterranean*, and perpetually roving up and down, there was left no place for Navigation or Commerce, insomuch that no Merchant durst venture out to Traffick. The *Romans* therefore finding themselves to be extreamly strained in their Markets, and considering that if this Scarcity of Corn should continue, there would be a Dearth and Famine in the Land, determined to send out *Pompey* to recover their Seigniory of the Seas from the Pirates: Wherefore (1) *Gabinus* (a great Creature of *Pompey's*) preferred a Law, whereby there was granted to him, not only the Government of the Seas as Admiral, but even the Monarchy of *Rome* as Sovereign, having an arbitrary and uncontrolable Power over all Men: The sum of that Decree gave him the absolute Power and Authority of all the Seas within the *Streights-mouth*, or *Hercules-pillars*; together with the Continent or Mainland, all along for the space of four hundred Furlongs, or fifty Miles from the Sea: Now there were but few Regions in the World under the *Roman* Empire out of that Compass, and in that Tract too there were comprehended great Nations and mighty Kings. Moreover by this Decree he had a Power of electing, for

(1) He was then Tribune of the People in the Year of Rome six hundred eighty six, sixty five Years before the Birth of our Saviour, *Pompey* being then thirty eight Years old. *Cicero* has given us the Character of this *Gabinus* in the second Oration after his Return, where he sets him out in the following odious Colours. *Qui nisi ad aram Tribunatus confugisset, neque vim Pratoris, nec multitudinem creditorum, nec bonorum Proscriptionem, effugere potuisset. Quo in magistratu, nisi rogationem de*

Piratico bello tulisset, profecto egestate, & improbitate coactus Piraticam ipse fecisset. If he had not taken Sanctuary in his Office of Tribune, and fled thither as to an inviolable Altar, he would never have escaped the Authority of the Prator, nor the Number of his Creditors; nor have prevented the Confiscation of his Estate; and if in that Office he had not carried the Law for the War against the Pirates, his Poverty and Iniquity together would have made Him turn Pirate Himself.

his Ease and Assistance, fifteen Lieutenants out of the Senate, and of assigning to each his Province in charge; and of taking out of the Treasury, and of the *Publicans*, what Monies he pleased, and to form a Fleet of two hundred Sail of Ships, with an Authority to press and levy what Soldiers and Seamen he thought fit, together with Gallio's of Oars and Mariners. When this Law was read, the common People approved of it exceedingly, but the chiefest and most considerable of the Senate looked upon it as an exorbitant Power, even beyond the reach of Envy, and now become worthy of their Fears; therefore concluding with themselves that such an infinite and boundless Authority was dangerous, they agreed unanimously to oppose the Bill, and All were against it except *Cesar*, who gave his Vote for the Law, not so much to gratify *Pompey*, as the People, whose Favour he had courted underhand from the beginning, and hoped thereby to compass such a Power for Himself: The rest inveighed bitterly against *Pompey*, insomuch as one of the *Consuls* told him sharply, *That if he followed the Footsteps of Romulus, he would scarce avoid his End*; but he was in danger of being torn in pieces by the Multitude for his Speech: Yet when *Catulus* stood up to speak against the Law, the People in Reverence to Him were very silent and attentive; He therefore, after he had, without the least shew of Envy, made large Harangues in Honour of *Pompey*, began to advise the People in kindness to spare him, and not to expose a Man of his Value to such a Chain of Dangers and Wars; For, said he, *Where could you find out another Pompey, or whom would you have in case you should chance to lose him?* They all cry'd out with one Voice, *Yourself*; wherefore *Catulus* finding all his Rhetorick ineffectual, desisted: Then *Roscius* attempted to speak, but could have no Audience, wherefore he made

Signs with his Fingers, intimating, *That Pompey might not have the sole Command, but that a Collegue might be named in the Decree with him*: Upon This, the Multitude being extreamly incensed, made such an horrid Exclamation, that a Crow flying over the Market-place at that instant, was stum'd, and dropt down among the Rabble; whereby it appears, That the Cause of Birds falling to the Ground, is not by any Rupture or Division of the Air when it has received any such Impression or Force; but purely by the very stroak of the Voice, which being, as it were, shot up by a Multitude with great violence, raises a sort of Tempest and Hurricane in the Air. The Assembly therefore broke up for that Day, without coming to any Resolution; but when the Day was come, wherein the Bill was to pass by Suffrage into a Decree, *Pompey* went privately into the Country; but hearing that it was passed and confirmed, he returned again into the City by Night, to avoid the Envy that might arise from that Concourse of People who would of course meet and congratulate him: The next Morning he came abroad and sacrificed to the Gods, and having Audience at an open Assembly, he handled the Matter so, as that they enlarged his Power, giving him many things beside what was already granted, and almost doubling the Preparation appointed in the former Decree: For there were compleatly five hundred sail of Ships fitted out, and he had an Army of an hundred and twenty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, assigned for his Muster; there were chosen likewise for his Lieutenants or Vice-Admirals, twenty-four Senators who had been Consuls, Prætors, or Generals of Armies, and to These were added two of the general Treasurers. Now it happened within this time that the Prices of Provisions were much abated,

bated, which gave an occasion to the joyful People of saying, *That the very Name of Pompey had already ended the War.* However *Pompey* in pursuance of his Charge divided the whole *Mediterranean* into thirteen Parts, allotting a Squadron to each, under the Command of his Vice-Admirals; and having thus dispersed his Power into all Quarters, and encompassed the Pirates every where, they began to fall into his Drags by whole Shoals, which he seized and brought into his Harbours: As for Those who withdrew themselves betimes, or otherwise escaped his general Chace, they All made to *Cilicia*, where they hid themselves as in their Hives; against whom *Pompey* designed to go in Person with sixty of his best Frigates: But first he resolved to scour and clear all the Seas thereabout, as That of *Tuscany*, together with the Coasts of *Africa*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and *Sicily*; all which he performed in the space of forty days by his own indefatigable Industry, and the Diligence of his Vice-Admirals. Now *Pompey* met with some Obstruction in *Rome*, through the Malice and Envy of *Piso* the Consul, who had put some stop to his Affairs, by waisting his Stores and discharging his Seamen; whereupon he sent his Fleet round to *Brun-dusium*, Himself going the nearest way by Land thro' *Tuscany* to *Rome*; which as soon as it came to be known to the People, they all flock'd out to meet him upon the way, as they had done but a few days before, when they attended him at his Departure. But That which chiefly raised their Joy, was the sudden and unexpected change in the Markets, abounding now with exceeding Plenty; so that *Piso* was in great danger to have been deprived of his Consulship, *Gabinus* having a Law ready penned for that purpose; but *Pompey* forbid it; behaving himself as in That, so in all things

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else, with great Moderation, whereby having brought to pass and obtained all that he wanted or desired, he departed for *Brundisium*, whence he set sail in Pursuit of the Pirates. Now though he was streightened in Time, and his hasty Voyage forced him to sail by several famous Cities without touching, yet he would not pass by the City of *Athens* unsaluted; but landing there, after he had sacrificed to the Gods, and made an Oration to the People, (1) as he was returning out of the City, he read at the Gates two Monosticks or single Epigrams writ in his own Praise.

One within the Gate.

(2) *Thy humbler Thoughts make thee a God the more.*

The other without.

We wish'd and saw, we honour and adore.

Now because that *Pompey* had shew'd himself merciful to some of that swarm of Thieves, that were yet roving in Bodies about the Seas, (having upon their Supplication ordered a Seizure of their Ships and Persons only, without any farther Process or Severity;) therefore the rest of their Comrades, in hopes of Mercy too, made their Escape from his other Commanders, and surrendered themselves with their Wives and Children into his Protection; so that *Pompey* pardoned All that came in, and the rather because by Them he might make a discovery of Those who fled from his Justice, as consci-

(1) He did not observe them 'till he was returning out of the City, because they were not prepared 'till after his Entry, and during his Continuance in it,

(2) This Compliment is something like That of *Horace* to *Augustus*. *Diis te minorem quod geris, imperas.*

The LIFE of

ous that their Crimes were beyond an Act of Indemnity: Whereof the greatest and chiefest part conveyed their Families and Treasures (with whatever else was unfit for War) into Castles and strong Forts about Mount *Taurus*; but They themselves having well mann'd their Gallies, imbarck'd for *Coracesium* in *Cilicia*, where they received *Pompey* and gave him Battel: Here they had a fatal Overthrow, and thereupon they retired to their Cities, where they were besieged: At last, having dispatched their Heralds to him with a Submission, they delivered up to his Mercy Themselves, their Towns, Islands, and strong Holds, All which they had fortified with Bulwarks and Rampires, whereby they became impregnable, and almost inaccessible.

Thus was this War ended, and the whole Power of the Pirates at Sea dissolved every where in the space of three Months: Wherein, besides a great number of other Vessels, he took ninety Men of War with brazen Beaks; and likewise Prisoners to the number of no less than twenty thousand.

Touching the Disposal of these Prisoners, he considered on one hand, that it would be barbarous to destroy them, because he had given his Word to the contrary, and yet it might be no less dangerous on the other to disperse them, for that they might re-unite and make Head again, being numerous, poor, and warlike: Therefore well and wisely weighing with himself, That Man by Nature is not a wild or savage Creature, neither was he born so, but becomes a brute Beast by Practice, having changed his Nature by a rude and vicious Habit; and again, on the other side, That he is civilized and grows gentle by a change of Place, Converse and Manner of Life, as Beasts themselves that are wild by Nature become tame and tractable to their Feeders by Housing and a gentler Usage: Upon this

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Consideration he determined (1) to translate these Pirates from Sea to Land, and give them a taste of the true and innocent course of Life, by living in Cities, and manuring the Ground: Some therefore were entertained in the small and unpeopled Towns of the *Cilicians*, mixing and incorporating with those few Inhabitants there, who received them joyfully, for they thereby obtained an Enlargement of their Territories. Others he planted in the City of the *Solians*, which he repaired, for it had been lately laid waste and drained by *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*. Those that remained, and who were the most in Number, he seated in *Dyme*, a City of *Achaia*, a Place extremely depopulated, but of a large compass of Ground and as rich a Soil. However, these Proceedings could not escape the Envy and Censure of his Enemies: but for his Practices against *Metellus* in *Crete*, Those were disapproved of even by the chiefest of his Friends: For *Metellus*, (a Relation to Him who had been Collegue with *Pompey* in *Spain*) was sent Prætor into *Crete*, some time before this Province of the Seas was designed for *Pompey*: Now *Crete* was the second Fountain of Pirates next to *Cilicia*, there *Metellus* apprehended divers, and put them to Death; wherefore Those who were yet remaining, and besieged, sent their Supplications to *Pompey*, and invited him into the Island as a part of his Province, alledging it to fall within that distance of the Sea limited in his Commission, and so within the Precincts of his Charge: *Pompey* receiving the Submission, dispatched an Express to *Metellus*, commanding him to leave off the War; and

(1) *Florus* very justly commends this prudent Action in *Pompey*: *Idque prospectum singulari consilio ducis, qui maritimum genus a conspectu longe removit maris, & mediterraneis agris quasi obligavit.* Lib. 3.

Cap. 6. It is a thing most certain, and has often been confirmed by Experience, that a Change of Habitation and a new Course of Life, produce a Change in the Manners.

Another

Another likewise to the Cities, wherein he charged them not to yield any Obedience to the Commands of *Metellus*; and sent *Lucius Octavius* one of his Lieutenants, to command in his Stead. *Octavius* being arrived in *Crete*, entered the besieged Fortifications, and fighting in defence of the Pirates, rendered *Pompey* not only grievous and hateful, but even ridiculous too, that He should lend his Name as a Guard to a Nest of Thieves, that knew neither God nor Law, and make his Authority serve as a Sanctuary to Them, only out of pure Envy and Emulation to *Metellus*: (1) For neither was *Achilles* thought to act the part of a wise Man, but rather of a young giddy Fool, mad after Glory, when by Signs he forbid the rest of the *Græcians* to strike at *Hector*:

*And great Achilles, lest some Greek's Advance
Should snatch the Glory from his lifted Lance;
Sign'd to his Troops to yield the Foe his Way,
And leave untouch'd the Honours of the Day.* Pope.

But *Pompey* out-did even the hair-brain'd *Achilles* on this Occasion; for he fought to defend and preserve the common Enemies of the World, only that he might deprive a *Roman* Prætor, after all his Labours, of the Honour of a Triumph. Yet for all This, *Metellus* was no ways daunted, neither would he give over the War against the Pirates, but stormed them in their strong Holds, and having totally subdued them, he took a just Revenge of

(1) *Plutarch* tells us here what Opinion the more considerate *Romans* had of that Action of *Achilles*, who, whilst he was in Pursuit of *Hector*, made Signs to his Troops not to touch him, to the end that nothing might interfere to lessen his Victory, and that the Honour of his Death might be entirely his Own. Though this at first Sight seems an Heroick Action, yet it has been condemned with very good Reason. The Reader may say more of This in the Notes on that Passage in the new Translation of *Homer*, Lib. xxii. v. 269.

their Impieties: And after having publicly disgraced *Octavius*, he sent him away, loaden with the Scoffs and Reproaches of all the Camp.

Now, when it was reported in *Rome*, that the War with the Pirates was at an end, and that *Pompey* was in a dead Vacation, diverting himself in Visits only to the Cities for want of Employment; one *Manilius*, a Tribune of the People, preferred a Law, whereby it was enacted, *That Pompey should have all the Forces of Lucullus, and the Provinces under his Government, together with Bithynia, which was then under the Command of Glabrio; and that he should forthwith make War upon those two Kings, Mithridates and Tigranes, retaining still the same naval Forces and the Sovereignty of the Seas as before: But* this was nothing less than to constitute One absolute Monarch of all the *Roman Empire*; for the Provinces which seemed to be exempt from his Commission by the former Decree, such as were *Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the Over Colchis, and Armenia*; These were all grafted in by this latter Law, together with all the Army and Forces wherewith *Lucullus* had defeated *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*. Now though this were a notorious Injury to *Lucullus*, whereby he was robbed of the Glory of his Atchievements, (by having a Successor assigned him, rather in the Honour of his Triumph, than the Danger of the War;) yet This was of no great Moment in the Eye of the Senate, because it was Personal only (though they could not but censure the People of Injustice and Ingratitude to *Lucullus*;) but the source of all their Grievance flowed from hence, that the Power of *Pompey* should by Law be established in a manifest Tyranny; and therefore they exhorted and encouraged one another privately to bend all their Forces in opposition to this Law, and not to cast away their Liberties and Properties

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at so tame a Rate: Yet for all their Resolutions, when the Day came wherein it was to pass into a Decree, their Hearts failed them for fear of the People, and all the rest were silent except *Catulus*, who boldly inveigh'd against the Law, and charged the People home, but all in vain; for when he found that he had not brought over one Man among the People, he turned and directed his Speech to the Senate in great Passion, often crying out and bidding them to (1) *seek out some Mountain as their Forefathers had done, and fly to the Rocks where they might preserve their Liberty.* But all his Rhetorick was ineffectual, for the Law passed into a Decree, as it is said, by the Suffrages of all the Tribes. And now was *Pompey* even in his Absence made Lord of almost all that Power, that *Sylla* made himself Master of by Conquest, when by force of Arms and War he had brought even *Rome* it self under his Dominion. When *Pompey* had Advice by Letters of the Decree, it is said, that in the presence of his Friends, who came to rejoice, and congratulate him, he seemed extremely displeased, frowning and smiting his Thigh; and at last, as one over-laden already, and weary of Government, he broke out in great Passion, *Good Gods! What an endless Train of War is here? How much better might my Lot have fallen among the inglorious Croud, unknown or unregarded! If there shall be no end of this Warfare but with That of my Life! If my Fate be such that I must always despair of those happier Moments, wherein I might stem this Tide of Envy, and live at Peace in a Country Retirement, and the Enjoyments of a beloved Wife!* But All this was looked upon as Ironical, neither indeed could the best of his Friends endure such gross Hypocrisie, well knowing that He, whose Ambition was set on

(1) This alludes to what the *Romans* did four hundred twenty seven Years before, when they re-

tired with their Arms to the holy Mount, rather than be forced to the Wars against their Wills.

fire by his Malice, (having his Enmity with *Lucullus*, as a Firebrand to kindle that eager Desire of Glory and Empire that was implanted in his Nature) could not but embrace this new Province with Joy and Triumph; as appeared not long after by his Actions, which did clearly unmask him. For in the first place, he sent out his Edicts or Proclamations into all Quarters, commanding all Soldiers to resort to his Colours; then he summoned in all the Tributary Kings and Princes that were Subjects within the Precincts of his Charge; and in short, as soon as he had entered upon his Province, he left nothing unaltered that had been done and established by *Lucullus*; to Some he remitted their Amercements and Penalties, and deprived Others of their Rewards: And after this manner did he act in all things, with this Design chiefly, that the Admirers of *Lucullus* might know how that all his Power and Authority was now at an end, and He no longer Lord of the Province. But *Lucullus* began to arraign these Proceedings, and expostulate the Case by Friends, whereupon it was thought fitting, and agreed, that there should be a Meeting betwixt them, and accordingly they met in the Country of *Galatia*. Now in that they were great and prosperous Genarals both in Conduct and Action, they came in State, attended with their Vergers and Officers, bearing their Rods before them all wreathed about with Branches of Laurel: *Lucullus* came through a Country full of green and shady Groves, but *Pompey's* March was through large barren Plains both chill and naked; therefore the Vergers of *Lucullus*, perceiving that *Pompey's* Laurels were withered and dry, helped him to some of their Own, whereby they adorned and crowned his Rods with fresh Laurels: This was thought somewhat ominous, and looked as if *Pompey* came to take away the Reward and Honour of *Lucullus's* Victories.

Victories. *Lucullus* indeed had the Priority in the course of his Consulship, and of his Age too; but the Dignity of *Pompey* was the greater, in that he had the Honour of two Triumphs. Their first Addresses in this Interview were made with great Ceremony and Complaisance, magnifying each other's Actions, and congratulating their Success! But when they came to the Matter of their Conference or Treaty, there they observed neither Decency nor Moderation, but fell to downright railing at each other, *Pompey* upbraiding *Lucullus* of Avarice, and *Lucullus* retorting Ambition upon *Pompey*, so that their Friends could hardly part them. Now *Lucullus* had made a Distribution of all the Lands in *Galatia* within his Conquest, and gave other Largeesses to whom he pleased: But *Pompey* encamping not far distant from him, sent out his Prohibitions, whereby he forbid that any Man should yield Obedience to *Lucullus*; he likewise inveigled away all his Soldiers, except only sixteen hundred, which he found were likely to be as unserviceable to him, as they were ill-affected to *Lucullus*, being proud and mutinous. *Pompey* moreover openly decryed his Conduct, and lessened his Exploits, detracting from the Glory of his Actions, and declaring that the Battels of *Lucullus* were but imaginary, such as are represented in Landskips, or at best upon the Stage, with Kings personated in Tragedies and Farces, where there was no more Danger than in painted Fire, whereas the real part or brunt of the War against a true and well-instructed Army was reserved to Him, for that *Mithridates* began now to be in earnest, and had betaken himself to his Shields, Swords, and Horses: *Lucullus* on the other side to be even with him in Spite, replied, That *Pompey* came to fight with the Image and Shadow of War, it being his usual Practice, like a lazy Bird of Prey, to quarry upon

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Garkasses already slain, and tear in pieces the reliques of a War; for thus did he entitle and attribute to himself the Conquests of Sertorius, Lepidus, and Spartacus; whereas This was the Glory of Crassus, That of Catulus, and the First was to be ascribed to the Prowess of Metellus: And therefore it was no great wonder, that the Glory of the Pontick and Armenian War should be usurped by a Man, who by such subtil Artifices could insinuate and work himself into the Honour of a Triumph for dispersing a few runagate Slaves.

After This *Lucullus* departed for *Rome*, and *Pompey* having placed his whole Navy as a Guard upon all those Seas betwixt the Province of *Phœnicia*, and the *Bosphorus*, Himself marched against *Mithridates*, who though he had still an Army left of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, yet he durst not venture a Battel; but lay securely encamped upon a strong Mountain fortified with Trenches and Rampires almost impregnable, which however he forsook upon *Pompey's* Approach, as a Place destitute of Water. Now no sooner was he decamped, but *Pompey* in the first place made himself Master of that Mountain, (1) and observing well the nature and thriving of the Plants there, together with certain Chaps or Chinks which he found in several Places, conjectured that such a Plot could not be without Springs, and therefore he ordered them to sink Wells in every

(1) For besides that there are some Plants which never grow but in Places where there is Water, the Freshness and Verdure of Trees in general, is a sure sign of the Moistness of the Soil; and those Chinks or Crevices are always occasioned by Moisture, which first raiseth the Earth, and then dilutes it, so that when it is thus raised and diluted, it sinks by degrees through the Drought of the exterior Parts or Covering. But *Pompey*, without being at the Pains of making these Observations Himself, might have read in History, or heard related what happened to *Paulus Æmilius*, four-score Years before, when He was Commander in Chief against *Perseus*. Vol. III. p. 87.

corner; whereby there was great plenty of Water throughout all the Camp in a little time; insomuch that he admired how it was possible for *Mithridates* to be ignorant of This, during all that time of his Encampment there. After This *Pompey* pursued him to his next Camp, and there drawing a Line round about him, encamped Himself, and worked up his Trenches with Bastions and Rampires, whereby he walled up *Mithridates* within his own Camp. But he having endured a Siege of forty five Days, made his Escape privily, and fled away with the choice of his Army, having first dispatched all the sick and unserviceable Persons in his Camp. *Pompey* followed him close, and overtook him near the Banks of the *Euphrates*, where he sat down and encamped close by him; but fearing lest he should pass over the River and give him the Slip there too, he drew up his Army in Battalia against him at Midnight: Now, it is said that at that very time *Mithridates* saw a Vision in his Dream, that did prognosticate and foreshew what should come to pass; for he seemed to be under Sail in the Pontick Sea with a prosperous Gale, and just in view of the Bosphorus, discoursing pleasantly with the Ship's Company, as one over-joyed for his past Danger, and safe in Harbour; when lo! of a sudden he found himself deserted of all, and floating upon a little broken Plank of the Ship, at the mercy of the Sea and Wind. Whilst he was thus labouring under these Passions and Phantasms, some of his Friends came to his Tent, and awaked him with the dreadful News of *Pompey's* Approach, telling him that he was so near at hand, that now they must Fight for the Camp it self: Whereupon the Commanders drew up all his Forces in Battel-array. *Pompey* perceiving how ready they were and prepared for Defence, began to doubt with himself, and was unwilling to put it to the hazard of an Engage-

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ment in the dark, judging it more consistent with Policy to encompass them only at present, lest they should fly, and give them Battel the next day, because His Men were far the better Soldiers: But his ancient Commanders were of another Opinion, and by Entreaties and Remonstrances wrought upon him, and obtained that they might charge them immediately. Neither was the Night so very dark, but that it gave Light enough to distinguish the Objects, and discern one thing from another. But This rather deluded and put a blind upon the King's Army, for the *Romans* coming up with the Moon on their Backs, (she being very low, and just upon setting) cast the Shadows a long way before the Bodies, and reached even almost to the Enemy: This dazled their Eyes so, that (not exactly discerning the Distance, but imagining them to be near at Hand) they threw their Darts at the Shadows, without the least Execution upon any one of the Enemy: The *Romans* therefore perceiving This, ran in upon them with a great Shout; but the barbarous People all in Amaze, being unable to endure the Charge, were fearfully routed, and put to flight with a great Slaughter, insomuch that above ten thousand were slain upon the Spot, and the Camp taken: As for *Mithridates* Himself, He at the beginning of the Onset with a Body of eight hundred Horse charged through all the *Roman* Army and made his Escape; but this Party soon forsook him, and dispersed, Some one way, Some another, so that he was left with no more than three Persons in his Retinue; among whom was his Concubine or Mistress, *Hypsicratia*, a Girl always of a manly and daring Spirit, (and therefore the King called her *Hypsicrates* :) She being attired and mounted like a *Persian* Cavalier, accompanied the King in all his Flight, never weary even in the longest Journey, nor ever failing to attend him in Person,

and look after his Horse into the Bargain, 'till they came to a (1) Palace or Castle called *Inora*, where the King had lodged his Treasure, and other Things of the greatest Value. Here *Mithridates* distributed the richest of his Apparel among Those who resorted to him in their Flight; and to every one of his chiefest Friends he gave a deadly Poison, that they might not fall into the Hands of the Enemy against their Wills: From thence he pursued his Route, in order to join *Tigranes* in *Armenia*; where That Prince was so far from receiving him, that he caused a Proclamation to be issued against him, and set a hundred Talents upon his Head. Whereupon he passed the Head of the *Euphrates*, and directed his Flight through the Country of *Colchis*.

In the mean time *Pompey* advanced into *Armenia*, upon the Invitation of young *Tigranes*, who had deserted his Father, and was come as far as the *Araxes* to give *Pompey* the Meeting. This River riseth near the Head of the *Euphrates*, but bending its Course towards the East of it, at last falls into the *Caspian* Sea. These two Princes being joined, marched together through the Country, taking in all the Cities by the way, and obliging them to Homage and Fealty: But *Tigranes* the Father having been harrassed lately in a tedious War by *Lucullus*, and withal understanding that *Pompey* was generous in his Nature, and of a gentle Disposition, received *Roman* Garrisons into his chief Cities and Places of Strength, and taking along with him divers of

(1) Between the Great and Lesser *Armenia*. *Strabo*, Lib. xii. saith that *Mithridates* was so careful to secure those Parts, that he caused seventy five Castles or Fortresses to be built thereabouts, wherein he deposited all his Treasures, and gives us the Names of the chief

of them, such as *Hydara*, *Basgoedaviza*, and *Sinoria*, which he placeth on the Frontiers of the greater *Armenia*. It is not therefore without good Reason that *Lubin* thinks that instead of *Inora*, it ought to be read *Sinoria*.

his Friends and Relations, went in Person to surrender himself into the Hands of *Pompey*. He came as far as the Trenches on Horseback, but there he was met by two of *Pompey's* Vergers, who commanded him to alight and walk on Foot, for that no Man ever was seen on Horseback within a *Roman* Camp: *Tigranes* submitted to This immediately, and not only so, but plucking off his Sword, delivered up That too; and last of all, as soon as he appeared before *Pompey*, he pulled off his Turbant or Royal Diadem, and attempted to have laid it at his Feet; nay, what is worse than all the rest, even He himself had fallen prostrate as an humble Suppliant at his Knees, to the Reproach of Majesty, had not *Pompey* himself prevented it, by taking and placing him next upon his right Hand, and the Son upon his left: There *Pompey* took occasion to tell him, *That as to his Losses, they were chargeable upon Lucullus, for that by Him he had been dispossessed of Syria, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene; but All that he had preserved 'till that time he should peaceably enjoy, paying the Sum of six thousand Talents as a Fine or Penalty for the Injuries done by him to the Romans, and that his Son should enjoy the Kingdom of Sophene.* *Tigranes* himself was well pleased with these Conditions of Peace, and therefore when the *Romans* in a general Shout saluted him King, he seemed to be overjoyed, and promised to every common Soldier half a Mina of Silver, every Centurion or Captain ten Minas, and to every Colonel or Commander of a thousand, a Talent: But the Son was highly displeased, insomuch that when he was invited to Supper, he replied, *That he did not stand in need of Pompey for that sort of Honour, and that he would find out some other Roman, who knew how to value him as he ought.* *Pompey* was nettled at this Answer, whereupon he ordered him to be clapped up close Prisoner, and reserved him for the Triumph.

and look after his Horse into the Bargain, 'till they came to a (1) Palace or Castle called *Inora*, where the King had lodged his Treasure, and other Things of the greatest Value. Here *Mitbridates* distributed the richest of his Apparel among Those who resorted to him in their Flight; and to every one of his chiefeft Friends he gave a deadly Poison, that they might not fall into the Hands of the Enemy against their Wills: From thence he pursued his Route, in order to join *Tigranes* in *Armenia*; where That Prince was so far from receiving him, that he caused a Proclamation to be issued against him, and set a hundred Talents upon his Head. Whereupon he passed the Head of the *Euphrates*, and directed his Flight through the Country of *Colchis*.

In the mean time *Pompey* advanced into *Armenia*, upon the Invitation of young *Tigranes*, who had deserted his Father, and was come as far as the *Araxes* to give *Pompey* the Meeting. This River riseth near the Head of the *Euphrates*, but bending its Course towards the East of it, at last falls into the *Caspian* Sea. These two Princes being joined, marched together through the Country, taking in all the Cities by the way, and obliging them to Homage and Fealty: But *Tigranes* the Father having been harrassed lately in a tedious War by *Lucullus*, and withal understanding that *Pompey* was generous in his Nature, and of a gentle Disposition, received *Roman* Garrisons into his chief Cities and Places of Strength, and taking along with him divers of

(1) Between the Great and Lesser *Armenia*. *Strabo*, Lib. xii. saith that *Mitbridates* was so careful to secure those Parts, that he caused seventy five Castles or Fortresses to be built thereabouts, wherein he deposited all his Treasures, and gives us the Names of the chief

of them, such as *Hydara*, *Basgoedariza*, and *Sinoria*, which he placeth on the Frontiers of the greater *Armenia*. It is not therefore without good Reason that *Lubin* thinks that instead of *Inora*, it ought to be read *Sinoria*.

his Friends and Relations, went in Person to surrender himself into the Hands of *Pompey*. He came as far as the Trenches on Horseback, but there he was met by two of *Pompey's* Vergers, who commanded him to alight and walk on Foot, for that no Man ever was seen on Horseback within a *Roman* Camp: *Tigranes* submitted to This immediately, and not only so, but plucking off his Sword, delivered up That too; and last of all, as soon as he appeared before *Pompey*, he pulled off his Turbant or Royal Diadem, and attempted to have laid it at his Feet; nay, what is worse than all the rest, even He himself had fallen prostrate as an humble Suppliant at his Knees, to the Reproach of Majesty, had not *Pompey* himself prevented it, by taking and placing him next upon his right Hand, and the Son upon his left: There *Pompey* took occasion to tell him, *That as to his Losses, they were chargeable upon Lucullus, for that by Him he had been dispossessed of Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene; but All that he had preserved 'till that time he should peaceably enjoy, paying the Sum of six thousand Talents as a Fine or Penalty for the Injuries done by him to the Romans, and that his Son should enjoy the Kingdom of Sophene.* *Tigranes* himself was well pleased with these Conditions of Peace, and therefore when the *Romans* in a general Shout saluted him King, he seemed to be overjoyed, and promised to every common Soldier half a Mina of Silver, every Centurion or Captain ten Minas, and to every Colonel or Commander of a thousand, a Talent: But the Son was highly displeased, insomuch that when he was invited to Supper, he replied, *That he did not stand in need of Pompey for that sort of Honour, and that he would find out some other Roman, who knew how to value him as he ought.* *Pompey* was nettled at this Answer, whereupon he ordered him to be clapped up close Prisoner, and reserved him for the Triumph.

Not long after This, *Phraates* King of *Parthia* sent to *Pompey*, and demanded by his Ambassadors to have the young *Tigranes*, who was his Son-in-Law, released to Him, and that the River *Euphrates* should be the Term and Bound of his Conquests. To these *Pompey* replied, *That for Tigranes, he belonged more to his own Father, than his Father-in-Law; and as for his Conquests, he would give them such Bounds as were agreeable to Reason and Justice.*

So *Pompey* leaving *Armenia* in the Custody of *Afranius*, went Himself in Chace of *Mithridates*; whereby he was forced of Necessity to march through several Nations inhabiting about Mount *Caucasus*: Of these Nations the *Albanians* and *Iberians* were Two of the chiefest: The *Iberians* stretch out as far as the *Moschian* Mountains, and to the Realm of *Pontus*; the *Albanians* lie more Eastwardly, towards the *Caspian* Sea. These barbarous People, the *Albanians*, at first permitted *Pompey* upon his Entreaty to pass through the Country; but when they found that the Winter had stollen upon the *Roman* Army whilst they were quartered in their Country, and withal that they were busily exercised in celebrating the Festivals of *Saturn*, they mustered up an Army of no less than forty thousand fighting Men, with a Resolution to set upon them. For this Purpose they passed the River (1) *Cyrnus*, which rising among the Mountains of *Iberia*, and receiving the River *Araxes* in its Course from *Armenia*, dischargeth it self by twelve distinct Mouths or Channels into the *Caspian* Sea; although Others are of Opinion, (2)

(1) The River which *Plutarch* calls *Cyrnus*, is named *Cyrus* by *Strabo* and *Pliny*, whose Authority ought to be followed, as it is by all modern Travellers and Geographers.

(2) This is *Strabo's* Opinion, who describes the different Mouths of those two Rivers; and in This likewise he is followed by our modern Geographers.

that the *Araxes* does not fall into it, but that they flow very near one another, and so discharge themselves as Neighbours into the same Sea. It was in the power of *Pompey* to have obstructed their Passage over the River, but he permitted it without Opposition, and as soon as they were got over he attacked and routed them, and slew a great Number of them on the Spot. Upon This their King sent Ambassadors with his Submission, wherefore *Pompey* upon his Supplication pardoned the Offence, and having entered into a League with him, he marched directly against the *Iberians*, a Nation no less in Number than the Other, but much more warlike, and withal under a solemn Resolution both of assisting *Mithridates*, and opposing *Pompey* to the utmost. These *Iberians* were in no wise subject to the *Medes* or *Persians*, and they happened likewise to escape the Dominion of the *Macedonians*, because *Alexander* was obliged to quicken his March through *Hyrcania*; but These also *Pompey* subdued in a decisive Battel, wherein there were slain nine thousand upon the Spot, and more than ten thousand taken Prisoners. From thence he went into the Country of *Colchis*, where *Servilius* met him at the Mouth of the River *Phasis*, having his Fleet (with which he guarded the *Pontick* Sea) riding at Anchor there. Now this Pursuit of *Mithridates* seemed to carry great Difficulties in it, for that he had concealed himself among the Nations that inhabit about the *Bosphorus* and the Lake of *Mæotis*; and besides, News was brought to *Pompey* that the *Albanians* had revolted: This made him divert his Course, and bend his Forces against Them with Resolutions full of Wrath and Revenge, insomuch that he passed back again over the *Cyrnus* with great Difficulty and Danger, for that the barbarous People had fortified it a great way down the Banks with Rampires and

Palisadoes: After This, having a tedious long March to make through a thirsty and rough Country, he ordered ten thousand Casks to be filled with Water, and so advanced towards the Enemy; whom he found drawn up in order of Battel near (1) the River *Abas*, (2) to the Number of sixty thousand Horse, and twelve thousand Foot, ill armed generally, and many of them covered only with the Skins of wild Beasts: Their General was *Cosis* the King's Brother, who as soon as the Battel was begun, singled out *Pompey*, and rushing in upon him, darted his Javelin into the Joints of his Breastplate; which *Pompey* received, and in return struck him through the Body with his Lance, and slew him. It is reported, That in this Fight were several *Amazons* who served as Auxiliaries to these *Barbarians*, and that they came down from those Mountains that run along by the River *Thermodon*; for that after the Battel, when the *Romans* were taking the Spoil and Plunder of the Field, they met with several Targets and Buskins of the *Amazons*, but there was not the Body of a Woman to be seen among all the Dead; They inhabit those Parts of Mount *Caucasus* that look towards the *Hyrceanian* Sea, (not bordering upon the *Albanians*, (3) for that the Territories of the *Gela*

(1) This River rolls down from the Mountains of *Albania*, and falls into the *Caspian* Sea. It is called *Albanus* by *Ptolemy*, and is so distinguished in our Maps.

(2) *Strabo* speaking of these People of *Albania*, saith, that they could raise more Forces than the *Iberians*; for they could send into the Field no less than sixty thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; but at the same time he gives us to understand that those

Troops were ill disciplined. They made use of Darts and Arrows, and were armed with Cuirasses, and Bucklers, and Casques made of the Skins of Wild Beasts.

(3) *Plutarch* has taken This from *Theophanes* of *Metylene*, who attended *Pompey* in this Expedition, and drew up a Relation of it. In this Relation he saith, the *Amazons* were separated from the *Albanians* by the *Geta* and the *Leget*, Nations of *Scythia*. *Strab. Lib. xi.*

and

and the *Leges* lie betwixt:) And with these People do they yearly, two Months only, accompany and cohabit, Bed and Board, near the River *Thermodon*; after that they retire to their own Habitations, and live alone all the rest of the Year. After this Engagement *Pompey* was determined (1) to have marched with his Forces into *Hyrkania*, and so to have proceeded as far as to the *Caspian* Sea, but was forced to retreat after three Days March, by reason (2) of the venomous Serpents that were infinitely numerous in those Countries; and so he fell into *Armenia the Less*: Whilst he remained there, he gave Audience to Ambassadors from the Kings of the *Medes* and (3) *Elymeans*, and dismissed them with Letters of Friendship, and Respect to their Masters; but for the King of *Parthia*, who made Incursions upon *Gordyene*, and despoiled the Subjects of *Tigranes*, he sent an Army against him under the Command of *Afranius*, who put him to the Rout, and followed him in Chace as far as *Arbelitis*.

Among all the Concubines of King *Mithridates*, that were brought before *Pompey*, he had not the carnal Knowledge of any one, but sent them all away to their Parents and Relations, for that

(1) But if his Intentions were to have proceeded on to the *Caspian* Sea, he had no Business in *Hyrkania*, for when he was in *Albania* he was very near it. There is something defective in this Passage. *Plutarch* shou'd have said that *Pompey* was determined to march into *Hyrkania*, and have proceeded from thence to the other End of that Sea.

(2) *Strabo* saith the Country abounds with venomous Beasts, whose Bite is mortal, and likewise with Scorpions.

(3) The *Elymeans* inhabited a

Province in *Assyria* bordering upon the *Medes*. *Strabo* makes mention of three Provinces belonging to the *Elymeans*, *Gabianna*, *Massabistica*, and *Corbiana*. He saith the low Country produced only Husbandmen, but that the Highlands abounded in brave Soldiers, for the most part Archers, and so numerous that the King presuming upon his Strength refused to submit to the King of *Parthia*, and scorned to follow the Example of his Neighbours. *Strab. lib. xvi.*

most

most of them were either the Daughters or Wives of his Generals, or principal Officers in his Court: excepting only *Stratonice*, who of all the rest had the greatest Power and Influence over him, and to whom he had committed the Custody of that Fortress where he had lodged the best part of his Treasure. She, they say, was the Daughter of a certain Musician, a Man in Years, and of indifferent Circumstances. As she happen'd one Night to sing at a Banquet in *Mithridates's* Presence, he was so smitten on a sudden with her, that he immediately took her to his Bed, to the great Mortification of the Father, who had lost his Daughter, without so much as a kind Word or Look from his Prince, in Return. But when he rose in the Morning, and saw the Tables within richly covered with Plate of Gold and Silver, a great Retinue of Servants, Eunuchs and Pages attending him with rich Garments, and withal (1) a Horse standing before the Door richly caparisoned, in all things as it was usual with the King's Favourites, he looked upon it All as a piece of Pageantry, and thinking himself mocked and abused in it, attempted to have slipt out of Doors and run away; but the Servants laying hold upon him, informed him really that the King had bestowed on him the House and Furniture of a rich Nobleman lately deceased, and that These were but the first Fruits or small Earnests of greater Riches and Possessions that were to come. When with much Difficulty they had persuaded him to believe all This, he put on the purple Robes, and mounting his Horse, he rode through the City, crying out, *All This is*

(1) It was a Custom with those of their own Stable in royal Furniture. Thus *Ahasuerus* honoured *Mordecai*, *Esth.* vi. 8, &c.

Mine; All This is Mine! And to Those that laugh'd at him, he said, *There was no such wonder in This, but rather that he did not throw Stones at all he met, he was so transported with Joy.* (1) Such was the Parentage and Blood of *Stratonice*. Now she deliver'd up this Castle into the Hands of *Pompey*, and offer'd him many Presents of great Value, whereof he received only such as he thought might serve to adorn the Temples of the Gods, and add to the Splendor of his Triumph; the rest he left to *Stratonice's* Disposal, bidding her to please her self in the Enjoyment of them. And in this manner did he deal with the Presents sent from the King of *Iberia*, who presented him with a Bedstead, Table, and a Chair of State, all of beaten Gold, desiring him to accept of them; but he delivered them all into the Custody of the publick Treasurers, for the Use of the Commonwealth.

In another Castle call'd *Coenon*, or *New-Fort*, *Pompey* seized upon several secret Writings of *Mithridates*, which he perused with no small delight, in that they discovered in a great measure the King's Nature and Inclination; for there were Memoirs whereby it appeared, (2) That besides divers Others, he made away with his own Son *Ariarathes* by Poison, as also *Alcaus* the *Sardian*, for that he had gotten the better of him in an Horse-race: There were likewise several Judgments upon the Interpretations of Dreams, Some of his own Vifi-

(1) *Plutarch* in this grave and magnificent Expression, ταύτης μὲν καὶ γενεᾶς καὶ αἵματος ἢ στρατονικῆς, uses the very Terms in *Homer*, when he makes his Heroes say,

Ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος
τῷ εὐχομαι εἶναι:

which is very droll when applied to so infamous a Strumpet as *Stratonice*, whose Father was such a Scoundrel.

(2) It was the Custom among those Princes to keep an exact Register of whatever was transacted in the Court. Of This we have Instances in the Book of *Esther*.

ons, and Some of his Mistresses; and besides These, there was a pleasant Intercourse of wanton Love-Letters between Him and his Concubine *Monima*. Now *Theophanes* tells us, that there was found likewise a sharp Oration of *Rutilius*, wherein he attempted to exasperate him even to the Slaughter of all the *Romans* in *Asia*: (1) Tho' most Men justly conjecture This to be a malicious Device of *Theophanes*, who hated *Rutilius*, a Man in nothing like himself; or perhaps it might be to gratifie *Pompey*, whose Father is described by *Rutilius* in his History, to be the vilest Man alive.

From thence *Pompey* came to the City of *Amisus*, where his Ambition led him to such odious Acts, as He himself had heretofore condemned in Others: For whereas he had often and sharply reproached *Lucullus*, in that, while the Enemy was yet in being, he had taken upon him to establish Laws, and distribute Rewards and Honours, as Conquerors use to do only when the War was brought to an End, yet now was He himself (whilst *Mithridates* was Paramount in the Realm of *Bosphorus* at the Head of a puissant Army) as if all were ended, just doing the same thing, regulating the Provinces, and distributing Rewards: Many great Commanders and Princes having flock'd to him, together with no less than twelve barbarous Kings; insomuch as to gratifie

(1) This is *Publius Rutilius Rufus*, who had been Consul in the Year of *Rome* 649. *Cicero* gives him this great Character, *neque in urbe alter sanctior, vel integrior*. For this Reason *Plutarch* saith that *Theophanes* hated him, because he was in nothing like Him. *Rutilius* was a good Historian, and wrote the History of the *Romans* in *Greek*, which was of great Ser-

vice to *Appian*. He was banished into *Asia*, and when *Sylla* recalled him he would not return; upon which *Seneca* saith very well, *quiore animo passus est se Patria eripi, quam sibi exilium*. It is more than likely that a Man of his Probity wrote nothing relating to *Strabo*, *Pompey's* Father, but what was exactly true,

these other Kings, when he wrote to the King of *Parthia*, he would not condescend (as others used to do) in the Superscription of his Letter, to give him his Title of *King of Kings*.

Moreover he had a great Desire and Emulation to take in *Syria*, and to march through *Arabia*, to the *Red-Sea*, that he might extend his Conquest every way to the great Ocean, that encompasseth the whole Earth: For in *Africa* he was the first *Roman* that advanced his Victories to the Ocean. In *Spain* he had enlarged the *Roman Empire*, extending its Bounds to the *Atlantick Sea*: And in his late Pursuit of the *Albanians*, he wanted but little of reaching the *Hyrceanian Sea*: Wherefore he raised his Camp, designing to bring the *Red-Sea* within the Circuit of his Expedition, especially for that he saw how difficult it was to hunt after *Mithridates* with an Army, and that he proved more troublesome to the *Romans* when he fled from them, than when he stood, and encounter'd with them. Therefore upon his Departure, he said, *he left Mithridates a sharper Enemy behind him than himself*, meaning *Famine*; for which purpose he appointed a Guard of Ships to lye in wait for the Merchants that sailed to the *Bosphorus*, having prohibited All upon pain of Death to carry Provisions or Merchandizes thither.

Then he set forward with the greatest part of his Army, and in his March he casually happened upon several dead Bodies of the *Romans* uninterred, which were of those Soldiers who had been unfortunately slain under the Conduct of *Triarius* in an Engagement with *Mithridates*; These he bury'd with great Splendor and Magnificence, the Neglect whereof, it is thought, caused the first Hatred in the Army against *Lucullus*, and alienated the Affections of the Soldiers from him. *Pompey* having

The LIFE of

having now by his Forces under the Command of *Afranius* subdued the *Arabians* that inhabit about the Mountain *Amanus*, fell Himself into *Syria*, and finding it destitute of any natural and lawful Prince, reduced it into the Form of a Province, as an Inheritance of the People of *Rome*. He (1) conquer'd *Judæa*, and altered the Form of Government there, having taken King *Aristobulus* Captive: Some Cities he built anew, and Others he set at liberty, chastising those Tyrants that had brought them into Bondage. The greatest time he spent there, was in the Administration of Justice, deciding the Controversies of Kings and States; and where he Himself could not be present in Person, he gave Commission to his Friends, and sent Them. Thus when there arose a Difference betwixt the *Armenians* and *Parthians* touching the Title of a Country to which they Both laid Claim, and the Judgment was refer'd to Him, he gave a Power by Commission to three Judges and Arbiters to hear and determine the Controversie: For the Name of his Power indeed was great; neither was the Reputation of his Justice and Clemency inferior to That of his Power, whereby he cover'd a Multitude of Crimes committed by his Friends and Familiars about him: for although it was not in his Nature to check or chastise an Offender, yet he would demean himself so to Those who address'd with Complaints against Them, that the Party grieved went always away contented, forgetting the Inju-

(1) *Plutarch* passeth This Affair too slightly over, without making the least mention of the Temple of *Jerusalem* which was taken by Force with the Loss of more than twelve thousand *Jews*. *Pompey* entered into it, but had that Command of himself as not to touch any of the holy U-

tenfils, or the Treasure belonging to it. He might have taken notice of the golden Vine presented to *Pompey* by *Aristobulus*, valued at five hundred Talents. *Strabo* saith he saw it in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* in *Rome*, where it was consecrated.

ries, and patiently bearing even with their Covetousness and Oppression. Among all his Friends and Domesticks, *Demetrius* was the Person that had the greatest Power and Influence upon him; he was a Bond-man infranchized, a Youth of good Understanding, but somewhat too insolent in his good Fortune, of whom there goes this Story: *Cato* the Philosopher, (being as yet a very young Man, but of great Judgment, and a noble Mind) took a Journey of Pleasure to *Antioch*, having a great desire in *Pompey's* Absence to see that City: He, as his Custom was, walked on Foot, and his Friends accompanied him on Horseback. As he came near it, he perceived a great Croud about the Gate, and one Side of the Way lined with young Men, and the other with Boys, all in white. This Sight displeased him much, for he took it to be done in Consideration of Him, and declared it was a Ceremony he as little expected as desired. However he desired his Companions to alight and walk with him: As they drew near, the Master of the Ceremonies came out with a Garland on his Head, and a Rod in his Hand, and enquired, *Where they had left Demetrius? and when he would come?* Whereupon *Cato's* Companions burst out into a Laughter; but *Cato* said only, *Alas poor City!* and passed by without any other Answer. Now it is clear that *Pompey* himself render'd *Demetrius* less odious to Others, by enduring his Sawciness and Insolence against Himself: For it is reported that *Pompey*, when he had invited his Friends to an Entertainment, would be very ceremonious in attending 'till they came and were all placed; whereas *Demetrius* would rudely seat himself at the Table with his (1) Cap insolently pull'd down to

(1) The Word *ιμάτιον* signifies in this place a Cap, or Bonnet, and not the Flaps of a Garment. It is well known that the Cap was a Token of Enfranchisement.

his

his Ears, before any one else could sit down! Moreover, before his Return into *Italy*, he had purchased the pleasantest *Villas* or Country-Seats about *Rome*, with the fairest Walks and Places for Exercise, and the most compleat Gardens, call'd by his Name, *the Gardens of Demetrius*; notwithstanding that *Pompey* his Master was contented with a mean and indifferent Habitation 'till his third Triumph. Afterwards it is true, when he had erected that famous and stately Theater for the People of *Rome*, he built (as an Appendix to it) an House for Himself, much more splendid than his Former, but still as much beneath the stroke of Envy: insomuch that He who came to be Master of that House after *Pompey*, could not but admire at it, and seemed very inquisitive to know *Where Pompey the Great us'd to Sup?* Thus are these things reported.

The King of *Arabia Petraea*, who had hitherto despised the Power of the *Romans*, now began to think it dreadful, and therefore dispatched Letters to him, wherein he promised to be at his Devotion, and to do what he would command. However *Pompey* having a desire to confirm and keep him in the same Mind, marched forwards for *Petra*, an Expedition not altogether irreprehensible in the Opinion of Many; for by This it was generally said, he undertook it purely to have a Colour to decline the Chase of *Mithridates*, whereas they thought themselves bound to turn their Arms against Him as their inveterate Enemy, who now had blown up the Coal again, and reinforced his shattered Troops with fresh Preparations (as it was reported) to lead his Army through *Scythia* and *Pannonia* into *Italy*. *Pompey*, on the other side, judging it easier to break his Forces in Battel, than seize his Person in Flight, resolved not to tire himself out in a vain Pursuit, but

but rather to spend his Time in diverting the War upon another Enemy, as a proper Digression in the mean while. But Fortune resolved the Doubt; for whilst he was yet not far from *Petra*, and had pitch'd his Tents, and encamped for that Day, as he was riding and managing his Horse without the Camp, there came an Express by the Flying Post out of *Pontus* with good News, as was easily discernable afar off by the Heads of their Javelins which were crowned with Branches of Laurel: The Soldiers, as soon as they saw them, flock'd immediately to *Pompey*, who notwithstanding was minded to make an end of his Exercise; but when they began to be clamorous and importunate, he alighted from his Horse, and taking the Letters, went before them into the Camp: Now there being no Tribunal prepared, the Soldiers were too impatient to raise one, such as they used to erect by cutting up thick Turfs of Earth, and piling them one upon another; but, through Eagerness and Impatience, heaped up a Pile of Pack-saddles, and *Pompey* standing upon That, told them *that Mithridates was dead, that he had laid violent Hands upon himself, upon the Revolt of his Son Pharnaces, and that Pharnaces had taken every thing into his Hands and Possession, which he did (as his Letters mentioned) in right of Himself and the Romans.* Upon this News the whole Army expressing their Joy (as was fit) fell to their Devotion in sacrificing to the Gods, and feasting, as if in the Person of *Mithridates* alone there had died many thousands of their Enemies.

Pompey having thus brought this War to an End, with much more Ease than was expected, departed forthwith out of *Arabia*, and passing cursorily through the intermediate Provinces, he came at length to the City *Amisus*; there he

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received

received many magnificent Presents from *Pharnaces*, (1) and several Corps of the late Princes of the Royal Family, together with That of *Mithridates* Himself, which was not easy to be known by the Face, (for the Chyrurgeon that embalm'd him had not dried up his Brain;) but Those who were very curious to see him, knew him by the Scars there: *Pompey* himself would not endure to see him; but to expiate the Wrath of the Gods, he sent it away to the City of *Sinope*. He admired the Riches of his Robes, no less than the Greatness and Splendour of his Armour. The Scabbard of his Sword (that cost four hundred Talents) was stolen by *Publius*, and sold to *Ariarathes*; his *Cidaris* also, or Crown, a piece of admirable Workmanship, *Caius* the Foster-Brother of *Mithridates* gave privately to *Faustus* the Son of *Sylla*: All which *Pompey* was ignorant of; but afterwards, when *Pharnaces* came to understand it, he severely punish'd Those who had imbezzelled them.

Pompey now having ordered all things, and established the Province, he took his Journey homewards in greater Pomp and State than ever; for when he came to *Mitylene*, he gave the City their Freedom upon the Intercession of *Theophanes*, and was present at certain Anniversary Games or Exercises, where the Poets in a virtuous Contention rehearse their Works, having at that time no other Theme or Subject than the Actions of *Pompey*; but he was exceedingly pleased with the Theater it self, and drew a Model or Platform of it, intending to erect one in *Rome* after the same Form, but larger, and with more Magnificence. When he came to *Rhodes*, he

(1) *Pharnaces* sent those Corps | nothing to fear from the House of
to *Pompey* for his farther Assurance, *Mithridates*,
and to let him know that he had

heard the Disputes of the Sophisters or Logicians, and gave to every one of them a Talent: And *Possidonius* has written the Disputation which he held before him against *Hermagoras* the Rhetorician, wherein he was Opponent upon the Question touching (1) *Invention in general*. At *Athens* also he did the like, and shewed his Munificence among the Philosophers there, as he did likewise in bestowing fifty Talents towards the repairing and beautifying the City: So that now by all these Acts he well hoped to return into *Italy* in the greatest Splendor and Glory of any mortal Man, having likewise a passionate Desire to be seen of his Family, where he thought he was equally desired: But That God, whose Province and Charge it is always to mix some Ingredient of Evil even with the greatest and most glorious Goods of Fortune, had privily provided a bitter Potion at home for him, whereby to make his Return more sorrowful; for (2) *Mutia* during his Absence had dishonoured his Bed: Whilst he was abroad at a distance, he gave little heed to

(1) This in my Opinion is the true Sense of those Words *περὶ τῆς καθ' ὅλην ζητήσεως*. This *Hermagoras* had written a Treatise concerning the Principles of Rhetorick, and was for reducing *Invention* under some general Heads, which *Possidonius* would not allow of, any more than *Cicero*, who in his first Book *de Inventione Rhetorica*, saith, *Nam Hermagoras quidem, nec quid dicat attendere, nec quid polliceatur intelligere videtur, qui Oratoris Materiam in causam, & questionem dividat*. *Possidonius* was of *Apamea*, and was *Cicero's* Master. He is not to be confounded with *Possidonius* of *Alexandria*, who had been *Zeno's*

Disciple, and was dead long before.

(2) She was Sister to *Q. Metellus Celer*, and *Q. Metellus Nepos*, and was debauched by *Caesar*. For this Reason when *Pompey* espoused the Daughter of this Paramour of his Wife, he was reproached for that after having had three Children by her he turned her out of Doors, and that to gratify his Ambition he had condescended to marry the Daughter of Him, whom in a melancholy Humour he used to call his *Egistrus*. *Mutia* must have been very notorious for her Incontinence, since *Cicero* in one of his Letters to *Atticus* saith, *Divortium Mutia vehementer probatur*. Lib. i. Epist. 12.

the Report; but when he drew nearer to *Italy*, where the Report grew warmer, and that his Thoughts were at leisure to muse upon the Crime and Reproach, then he sent her a Bill of Divorce; but neither then in Writing, nor afterwards in Discourse, did he ever give a Reason why he discharged her, but the Cause is mention'd in *Cicero's Epistles*.

Now there were various Rumours scattered abroad touching *Pompey*, and were carried to *Rome* before him, so that there was a great Tumult and Stir, as if he designed forthwith to march with his Army directly into the City, and establish himself in a Monarchy: Thereupon *Crassus* withdrew himself, together with his Children and Fortunes, out of the City, either that he was really afraid, or that he counterfeited rather (as was most probable) to give Credit to the Calumny, and exasperate the Malice of the People. *Pompey* therefore, as soon as he entered into *Italy*, called a general Muster of the Army, and having made an Oration suitable to the Genius of the Time and his Soldiers, and rewarded them liberally, he commanded them to depart, every Man to his Country and Place of Habitation, only with this Memento, That they would not fail to meet again at his Triumph. This disbanding of the Army, the News whereof was soon spread all over *Italy*, occasion'd a very remarkable Occurrence: For when the Cities saw *Pompey the Great* unarm'd, and with a small Train of familiar Friends only, (as if he was returning from a Journey of Pleasure, not from his Conquests) they came pouring in upon him out of pure Affection and Reverence, attending and conducting him to *Rome* with far greater Forces than Those he had disbanded; insomuch, that if he had designed any Stirs or Innovation in the State, he might have

have done it without the Assistance of his Army. Now, because the Law permitted no Man to enter into the City before the Triumph, therefore he sent to the Senate, entreating them to prorogue the Election of Consuls, and grant him the favour that with his Presence he might countenance *Piso*, at that time one of the Candidates; but This was sharply opposed by *Cato*, whereby he failed of his Design: However *Pompey* could not but admire that Liberty and Boldness of Speech in *Cato*, wherewith He alone above all Others durst openly engage in the maintenance of Law and Justice. He therefore had a great desire to win him over, and purchase his Friendship at any rate; and to that end, *Cato* having two Neices (Daughters of his Sister) *Pompey* proposed One in Marriage for Himself, the Other for his Son: But *Cato* suspected the Motion, as a colourable Design of corrupting and bribing his Justice by Alliance, and therefore would not hearken to it; which was heinously resented by his Wife and Sister, that he should reject an Affinity with *Pompey the Great*. About that time *Pompey* having a Design of setting up *Afranius* for the Consulship, gave a Sum of Money among the Tribes for their Voices, some whereof was received even in his own Gardens, insomuch that when this Practice came to be publickly known, *Pompey* was very ill spoken of, for that He who had had the Honour of that Office as a Reward due to his superior Merit, should now make it Venal, to the end it might be purchased with Money by Those, who had neither Virtue nor Courage to deserve it; whereupon *Cato* took Occasion to tell the Ladies, Now, said he, *had we contracted an Alliance with Pompey, we had been ally'd to this Dishonour too*. Which when they heard, they could not but acknowledge and subscribe to Him, as one of a

more piercing Judgment in Matters of Prudence and Morality than Themselves.

The Splendor and Magnificence of *Pompey's* Triumph was such, That (though it held the space of two Days, yet) they were extremely straitned in Time, so that of what was prepared for that Pagantry, there was as much subducted, as would have set out and adorned another Triumph. In the first place, there were Tables carried, wherein were written the Names and Titles of all the vanquished Nations, such as were the Kingdoms of *Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia*, together with *Phœnicia*, and *Palæstine, Judæa, Arabia*, and all the Power of the Pirates, subdued by Sea and Land: In these Countries there appeared to have been taken no less than a thousand Castles, nor much less than nine hundred Cities, together with eight hundred Ships of the Pirates, and that thirty nine Towns that lay desolate and depopulated had been repeopled. Besides, there was set forth in these Tables, an account of all the Tributes throughout the *Roman* Empire, and how that before these Conquests the Revenue amounted but to five thousand Myriads, whereas by His Acquisitions it was advanced to eight thousand five hundred; and withal that for Advance at present, he brought into the common Treasury of ready Money, Gold and Silver, Plate and Jewels, to the value of twenty thousand Talents, over and above That which had been distributed among the Soldiers, whereof He that had least had an hundred and fifty Drachmas for his share. The Prisoners of War led in Triumph, besides the Arch-Pirates, were the Son of *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, with his Wife and Daughter; as also *Zosime*, the Wife of King *Tigranes* Himself; and *Aristobulus*, King of *Judæa*. The Sister of King *Mithridates*,

dates, and her five Sons; and some Ladies of *Scythia*. There were likewise the Hostages of the *Albanians* and *Iberians*; and of the King of *Comagena*; besides a vast number of Trophies, answering directly and deciphering out each particular Battel, in which he was Conqueror, either Himself in Person, or by his Lieutenants. But That which seemed to be his greatest Glory, and to which no other *Roman* had ever attained, was This, That he made his third Triumph over the third part of the World: For before Him, many among the *Romans* had received the Honour of three Triumphs, but *Pompey* after he had in his First triumphed over *Africk*, in his Second over *Europe*, did now in his Third triumph over *Asia*; so that he seemed in these three Triumphs to have led the whole World in Chains.

As for *Pompey's* Age, Those who affect to make the Parallel exact in all things betwixt Him and *Alexander* the Great, would not allow him to be quite thirty four, whereas in truth at that time he was forty six: Oh that he had crowned his Days, and breathed out his Last, even then when with *Alexander's* Age he had his Fortune too! But all the remainder of his Life was extremely unfortunate, wherein his Prosperity became odious, and his Adversity incurable; for that great Power and Authority which he had gain'd in the City by his greater Merits, even That was made use of only in patronizing the Iniquities of Others, so that by advancing Their Fortunes, he detracted from his own Glory, 'till at last he was dashed in pieces by the force and greatness of his own Power: And as the strongest Cittadel or Fort in a Town, when it is attacked and taken by an Enemy, does then afford the same Strength to the Foe, as it had done to Friends before; so *Cæsar* being exalted in the State by the Power of *Pompey*, overthrew and ruined Him by the same Force and Arts by which

He had trampled down Others : And thus it came to pass.

Lucullus, when he returned out of *Asia*, where he had been despitefully treated by *Pompey*, met with an honourable Reception from the Senate, and much more when *Pompey* was present ; for then they encouraged him to re-assume his Authority in the Administration of the Government, whereas he was now grown cold and unactive in Business, having given himself over to his softer Pleasures, and the enjoyment of a splendid Fortune : However, at first he bore up against *Pompey*, and obtained those Acts and Decrees of His, which the Other had repealed, to be re-established ; insomuch, that by the Assistance of *Cato*, he had a greater Interest in the Senate than *Pompey*. *Pompey* perceiving that as things then stood he was not in a Condition to maintain his Ground against *Lucullus*, found himself under a Necessity of flying to the Tribunes of the People for Refuge, and court the Favour of the light young Men of the Town ; among whom was *Clodius*, (the vilest and most impudent Wretch alive) who secured him to, and exposed him as his Tool to the Rabble ; for he had him always at his Elbow, exposing him beneath his Dignity, and carrying him up and down among the Throngs in the *Forum*, to countenance those Laws and Speeches which he made to cajole the People, and ingratiate himself : And at last, as if he had not disgraced, but done him a great Honour, he demanded of *Pompey* for his Reward, that he should forsake *Cicero*, his great Friend, and One who had highly deserved of him as an Advocate, in defending his Causes and Affairs in the Commonwealth ; which he obtained in the End : For when *Cicero* happened to be in some Danger, and implored his Aid, he would not so much as admit him into his Presence, but shutting his Gates against Those
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grow popular, and make an Interest with the poor and meaner sort, by preferring and establishing Laws for the planting of Colonies and for dividing of Lands; whereby he debased the Grandeur of his Magistracy, and turned his Consulship in a manner to a Demarchy, or Headship of the Mob; Himself appearing rather a Tribune of the People than Consul. Now when *Bibulus* his Collegue opposed him, and *Cato* was prepared to second *Bibulus*, and assist him vigorously, *Cæsar* to be even with them brought *Pompey* into the open Court, and there directing his Speech to Him before the Tribunal, demanded his Opinion touching those Laws; who gave his Approbation; *Why then* (said *Cæsar*) *in case any Man should offer violence to these Laws, wilt not thou be ready in assistance to the People?* Yes, (replied *Pompey*) *I shall always be ready, and against Those that threaten with the Sword, I'll appear with Sword and Buckler too.* Nothing ever was either said or done by *Pompey* to that very day, that seem'd more insolent or odious to all Men than that one Saying; insomuch that his Friends endeavoured to palliate the Offence and make an Apology for it, as a Word slipt out of joint through Inadvertency; but by his Actions and Practices afterwards, it appeared plainly, that he was totally devoted to *Cæsar*; for of a sudden, *Pompey*, beyond all Men's expectation, married *Julia* the Daughter of *Cæsar*, who had been affianced before, and was to be married within a few Days to *Cæpio*: And to appease *Cæpio's* Wrath, he gave him his own Daughter in Marriage, who had been espoused before to *Faustus* the Son of *Sylla*: But *Cæsar* himself married *Calpurnia* the Daughter of *Piso*.

Upon this, *Pompey* made a Garrison of the City, and filling it with Soldiers, carried all things by Force as he pleased; for as *Bibulus* the Consul was going into the Court, accompanied with *Lucullus* and *Cato*, they fell upon him of a sudden, and brake

his

his Rods, the Ensigns of Government; and some body threw a Close-stool of Ordure upon the Head of *Bibulus* Himself; whilst two of the Tribunes of the People, who accompanied him, were desperately wounded in the Fray. By these means having cleared the Court of all their Adversaries, the Bill for the Division of Lands was established, and passed into an Act: And the Populacy being thus decoyed and taken with the Bait, became totally at their Devotion, and without any Debate or Hesitation passed unanimously whatever they propounded. Thus they confirmed all those Acts and Decrees of *Pompey*, which were questioned and contested by *Lucullus*; to *Cæsar* they granted the Provinces of *Gallia Cisalpina* and *Transalpina*, together with *Illyricum*, for five Years, and likewise an Army of four entire Legions; and for the Year ensuing, *Piso* the Father-in-Law of *Cæsar*, and *Gabinus*, one of the chiefest Parasites about *Pompey*, were elected Consuls.

During all these Transactions, (1) *Bibulus* kept close within Doors, nor did he appear publicly in Person for the last eight Months of his Consulship, but contented himself with sending out Proclamations, full of bitter Invectives and Accusations against them Both; *Cato* turned Enthusiast, and, as if he had been possessed with a Spirit of Divination, did nothing else in the Senate but foretel what Judgments should befall the Commonwealth and *Pompey*. But *Lucullus* pleaded Dotage, and retired upon a Writ of Ease, as one already grown feeble and superannuated in the Affairs of State, which gave occasion to that Satyrical Saying of *Pompey*, that *the Fatigues of Luxury were much more unseasonable for an old Man than Those of Government*: Notwith-

(1) Upon This the Wits of Rome, when they were to mention the Events of that Year, instead of saying *Under the Consulate of Cæsar and Bibulus*, said, *Under the Consulate of Julius and Cæsar*.
standing

standing which fine Sentence He himself not long after grew effeminate, and wanton'd in the Embraces of a young Wife, whom he never quitted, but daily carested her, and spent his time with her at his Country-Seats, and Gardens of Pleasure, whereby he neglected all the weighty Affairs of Courts and Councils: Insomuch that *Clodius*, who was then Tribune of the People, began to despise him, and engage in many bold Attempts against him: For when he had banished *Cicero*, and sent away *Cato* into *Cyprus* under a colourable pretence of War; when *Cæsar* was gone upon his Expedition to *Gaul*, and that he found how the Populacy was devoted to him, as a Man forming all things, and governing according to their Pleasure, he attempted forthwith to unravel and repeal divers of *Pompey's* Decrees; thereupon he drew *Tigranes* the Captive out of Prison, and had him about with him as his Companion: He commenced likewise Actions and Accusations against several of *Pompey's* Friends, designing by these Measures to make an Estimate of *Pompey's* Power and Interest. At last, when *Pompey* came one day into the Court to assist in a certain Cause, (1) *Clodius*, accompanied with a Croud of dissolute and desperate Ruffians, and standing up in an eminent Place above the reit, uttered himself in these or the like Questions; *Who is the licentious General? What Man is that, That seeks for a Man? And who is it that scratcheth his Head so nicely with one Finger?* The Rabble, upon the Signal of shaking his Gown, with a great Shout to every Question, as it is usual among Songsters in the Chorus or Burden of a Song, an-

(1) This happened under the Consulate of *Philippus*, and *Marcellinus*, in the Year of Rome, 697. as appears by *Dion's* Account, lib. xxxix. that is, two Years after what *Plutarch* is going to relate concerning *Clodius's* Servant taken with a Sword. He does not here keep exactly to the Series of Time.

swered,

swered, *Pompey*: This indeed was no small Affliction to *Pompey*, a Man unaccustomed to hear any thing, ill of Himself, and unexperienced altogether in such kind of Rencounters; but he was most extreemly grieved, when he came to understand that the Senate rejoiced at this dirty Usage, and imputed it as a just Revenge or Punishment upon him for his Treachery to *Cicero*: But when from Words they came to Blows in the Court, and several were wounded on both sides, it happened that one of *Clodius's* Bondslaves was apprehended, creeping through the Crowd towards *Pompey* with a Sword in his Hand; *Pompey* laying hold of this Pretence, (though perhaps otherwise apprehensive of *Clodius's* Insolence and Reproaches) never would go to any publick Assemblies, during all the time he was Tribune, but kept close at home, and passed away his time in Consult with his Friends, by what means he might best allay the Displeasure of the Senate and Nobles against him. Among other Expedients, *Culleo* advised the Divorce of *Julia*, whereby he should meet with an easie Passage from *Cæsar's* Friendship to That of the Senate; This he would not hearken to by any means: Others advised him to call home *Cicero* from Banishment, a Man who was always the great Adversary of *Clodius*, and as great a Favourite of the Senate; (1) to This he was easily persuaded, and therefore he brought *Cicero's* Brother into the Court, attended with a strong

(1) This is a very extraordinary Change. *Pompey* had driven out *Cicero* to oblige *Clodius*, and now herecalls him in Opposition to him, upon which *Dion* makes this fine Reflection; *The Mind of Man is so variable, that it often happens that Those from whom we expected a great deal of Good, or a great deal* of Harm, enter on a sudden into quite different Sentiments, and we receive at their Hands the very contrary to what we expected from them. But if we consider the Matter well, we shall find that it is not the Mind that varies, but Interest shifterh.

Party, to petition for his Return; where, after a warm Dispute, wherein Several were wounded and Some slain, he got the Victory of *Clodius*. No sooner was *Cicero* returned home upon this Decree, but he immediately reconciled the Senate to *Pompey*; and withal, by his Rhetorick in defence of the Law for Importation of Corn, did again, in effect, make *Pompey* Sovereign Lord of all the *Roman* Empire by Sea and Land: For by that Law he had got within the Verge of his Jurisdiction all Ports, Staples and Store-houses; and in short, all the Mysteries and Concerns both of the Merchant and Husbandman: Which gave occasion to that malicious Charge of *Clodius*, *That the Law was not made because of the dearth or scarcity of Corn, but the dearth or scarcity of Corn was made, that they might make a Law, whereby that Power of his, which was now grown feeble and consumptive, might be revived again, and Pompey reinstated in a new Empire*: Others looked upon it as a politick Device of *Spinther* the Consul, whose Design it was to oblige *Pompey* with a greater Authority, that He himself might be sent in assistance to King *Ptolomy*: However, This is undoubtely true, that *Canidius* the Tribune preferred a Law to dispatch *Pompey* in the nature of an Ambassador, without an Army, attended only with two Lictors or Vergers, as a Mediator betwixt the King and his Subjects of *Alexandria*. This Law did not seem unacceptable to *Pompey*, but the Senate rejected it, upon a Pretence that they were unwilling to hazard the Person of so brave a Man: However, there were found several Pamphlets scattered about the Market-place and Senate-house, intimating how grateful it would be to *Ptolomy* to have *Pompey* appointed for his General instead of *Spinther*. *Timagenes* adds, that *Ptolomy* left *Ægypt*, and came to *Rome*, not out of necessity, but purely upon the persuation of *Theophanes*,

phanes, who designed it as an Advantage to *Pompey*, by laying a Foundation for him of Wealth and a new Command: But the Probability of this Story was not so confirmed by the Contrivances of *Theophanes*, as it was shaken by the known natural Disposition of *Pompey*, who had a Soul above stooping to such mean disingenuous Artifices, even in favour of his Ambition.

Thus *Pompey* being appointed chief Provedore, and having within his Administration and Management all the Corn-Trade, sent abroad his Factors and Agents into all Quarters, and he Himself sailing into *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Africa*, made up vast Stores of Corn. And now being just ready to embark on his Voyage homeward bound, there arose a mighty Storm of Wind, insomuch that his Pilots were doubtful whether they should sail or not; wherefore *Pompey* himself went first aboard, and commanded the Mariners to weigh Anchor, declaring with a loud Voice, (1) *It is necessary for Me to Go, but it is not necessary that I should Live*. This Readiness and Resolution was seconded by Fortune, so that he made a prosperous Voyage, whereby he stored all the Markets in *Rome* with Corn, and covered the Sea with Ships; insomuch as this great Plenty and abundance of Provisions yielded a suffi-

(1) There are some Criticks so unhappily nice and delicate, as to find fault with this Expression of *Pompey's*, as if it carried a sort of Contradiction in it, because he could not go unless he was alive. But though Words spoken in Passion are not to be examined too nicely, yet it is certain that These are full of Force, and good Sense. When a Man lies under two Necessities, One of preserving his Life, and the Other of going whether the Duty of his Office, or

some pressing indispensable Affair calls him, he is not to hesitate, but sacrifice the former to the latter, because it is not necessary that we should live, but it is absolutely necessary that we should perform our Duty. This Expression may properly be employed on all Occasions, where we are required to do something honest and necessary, and which however is not to be done but at the Hazard of our Lives.

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cient Supply, not only to the City of *Rome*, but even Foreigners too, dispersing it self, like a lively Fountain through many Rivulets, into all Quarters of *Italy*.

All this time *Cæsar* grew great, and was highly extolled for his Wars and Conquests in *Gaul*, and when in appearance he seemed farthest distant from *Rome*, as if he had been intangled in the Affairs of *Belgia*, *Suevia*, and *Britany*, then in truth was he working craftily by secret Practices in the midst of the People, and countermining *Pompey* in his chiefest Designs: For having his Army always about him as his Body, it was not his Design to weaken or impair it in a formal War against the barbarous Enemy, but by light Skirmishes only, no otherwise than in Sports of Hunting or Hawking, to exercise and harden it, whereby he made it invincible and dreadful to the World: Then for his Gold and Silver, (which was infinite) together with those incredible Spoils, and other Treasures which he had taken from the Enemy in his Conquests, all Those he sent to *Rome* in Presents and Bribes, tempting and corrupting the *Ædiles*, *Prætors*, and *Consuls*, together with their Wives, whereby he purchased to himself a multitude of Friends; insomuch that when he returned over the *Alps*, and took up his Winter-quarters in the City of *Luca*, there flocked to him an infinite number of the common People Men and Women, striving who should get first to him; and likewise two hundred Senators at least, among whom were *Pompey* and *Crassus*; so that there were to be seen at once before *Cæsar's* Gates no less than sixscore Rods or Maces of *Proconsuls* and *Prætors*. As for the rest of his Addressors, he sent them all away full fraught with Hopes and Money; but for *Crassus* and *Pompey*, he entered into private Covenants and Articles of Agreement with them,

them, That they should stand Candidates for the Consulship next Year; That *Cæsar* on his part should send a good Company of Soldiers to give their Votes at the Election; That as soon as they were elected, they should use their Interest to have the Government of some Provinces and Legions assigned to themselves, and that *Cæsar* should have his Charge now in being confirmed to him for five Years more: But afterwards, when these Designs came to be discovered and noised abroad, the Matter was heinously resented by many Persons of the greatest Quality in *Rome*; and therefore *Marcellinus* once in an open Assembly of the People demanded of them Both, *Whether they designed to Sue for the Consulship or no?* And being urged by the People for their Answer, *Pompey* spake first, and told them, (1) *Perhaps he would Sue for it, perhaps he would not*: But *Crassus* was somewhat more Politick, and said, *That for his part he would be ready to do what should be judged most agreeable with the Interest of the Commonwealth*: However, *Marcellinus* still inveighing against *Pompey*, and seeming to reflect upon him more bitterly, *Pompey* replied as sharply, *That this Marcellinus was a most ungodly Wretch, without either Gratitude or Honour, for that by His means of a Mute he was made an Orator, and of a poor Starveling, one glutted even to a Vomit.*

Now, notwithstanding divers fell off from their Pretences, and forbore canvassing for the Consulship, yet *Cato* persuaded and encouraged *Lucius Domitius* not to desist, *For that*, said he, *the Contest now is not for Government, but for Liberty against Tyrants and Usurpers.* Wherefore those of *Pompey's*

(1) *Dion* makes him return an Answer, which in my Opinion is more agreeable to his Character. *Share in the Magistracy, but on purpose to restrain the Dishonest and Seditious, I now demand the Consulship.* It is not, said he, for the sake of the honest Citizens that I desire any

Party, fearing that inflexible Constancy in *Cato*, (whereby he ruled and governed the whole Senate) lest by That likewise he should pervert and draw after him all the well-affected Part of the Commonalty, resolved to withstand *Domitius* at first, and prevent his Entrance into the *Forum*; to this end therefore they sent in a Band of armed Men, who, at the first Onset, slew the Torch-bearer of *Domitius*, as he was leading the way before him, and immediately put all the rest to Flight; last of all, *Cato* Himself retired, having received a Wound upon his right Arm in defence of *Domitius*. Having by these Means and Practices in a manner seized upon the Consulate, they used as little Moderation in the Exercise of their Power, as they had shewn in the obtaining it. For in the first place, when the People were chusing *Cato* Prætor, and just ready with their Votes for the Poll, *Pompey* broke up the Assembly, charging his (1) Reasons upon the Augury, as if there had appeared something inauspicious in the Heavens; after which having corrupted the Tribes, they publicly proclaimed *Antias* and *Vatinus* Prætors: Then in pursuance of their Covenants with *Cæsar*, they published several Edicts by *Trebonius* the Tribune, whereby they made an Enlargement of *Cæsar's* Commission according to Agreement, measuring out another five Years Charge to his former Province; to *Crassus* there was appointed *Syria*, and the *Parthian* War; and to *Pompey* Himself all *Africa*, together with both the *Spains*, and four Legions

(1) Whenever the People were assembled in order to poll, if the Consul, or some other Magistrate, declared he observed some inauspicious Birds in the Heavens, there was no more to be done, the Assembly broke up that very Moment. So that the Magistrate ne-

ver wanted a Pretext to stop That from passing which was not agreeable to his Interest, or Humour. To prevent which Abuse, *Clodius* had made a Law, That no Magistrate should observe Tokens in the Heavens whilst the People were assembled.

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of Soldiers, whereof Two he lent to *Cæsar* upon his Request, for the Wars in *Gaul*.

Crassus upon the Expiration of his Consulship departed forthwith into his Province; but *Pompey* spent some time in *Rome*, upon the Opening or Dedication of his Theater, where he treated the People with all manner of Games, Shews and Exercises, as well warlike as Those of the Muses: There was likewise the hunting or baiting of wild Beasts, and Combats with them, wherein five hundred Lions were slain; but above all, (1) the Battel of Elephants was a Spectacle full of Horror and Amazement.

These noble Entertainments brought him in great Esteem with the People, whereby he was highly admired and beloved; but on the other side he created no less Envy to himself, in that he committed the Government of his Provinces and Legions into the Hands of his Lieutenants, who were such of his Friends as were most in his Favour, whilst He himself was wantonly rambling up and down, and caressing his Wife throughout all the Delicacies of *Italy*; whether he doated upon her as a real Lover, or whether he could not find in his Heart to leave Her, who was such a Lover of Him, is somewhat doubtful. It is certain, that there was nothing more famous and common in Discourse, than the Passion of this young Lady for her Husband: Not that *Pompey* was then in the Flower of his Age, wherein Men usually

(1) *Dion* adds with Men in Armour; And saith, there were eighteen Elephants that fought, and that Some of them being wounded seemed to cry out for Quarter, and to complain to the Romans of the Injustice that had been done them. For as they were putting them on Shipboard in *A-*

frick, They who had the Care of them took an Oath that they should not be injured; whereupon the Romans being moved with Compassion saved them. A very remarkable thing This, an Oath given to Elephants, and those Elephants consenting to embark upon the Faith of that Oath.

appear amiable in the Eyes of the Ladies, but *Julia's* excessive Fondness of him was owing to the Assurance she had of his Chastity, and to the Charms of his Conversation, which, notwithstanding his natural Gravity, was agreeable and insinuating, and had something in it very taking with the Women, for which we have *Flora* the Curtezan's Testimony. Now it happened in a publick Assembly, as they were at an Election of the *Ædiles*, that the People came to Blows, and divers about *Pompey* were slain, so that He, finding himself all bloody, ordered a Change of Apparel; but the Servants who brought home his Cloaths, making a great Bustle and Hurry about the House, it chanced that the young Lady (who was then with Child) saw his Gown all stained with Blood; whereupon she dropt immediately into a Swoon, and was hardly brought to Life again; however, what with her Fright and Passion together, she fell in Labour and Miscarried: Wherefore even Those who chiefly censured *Pompey* for his Friendship to *Cæsar*, could not reprove him for his Affection to his Lady, who had such a Passion for him. Afterwards she was great again, and brought to Bed of a Daughter, but died in Childbed; neither did the Infant out-live her Mother many days. *Pompey* had prepared all things for the Interment of her Corps at *Alba*, but the People seized upon it by Force, and performed the Solemnities of her Funeral in the Field of *Mars*, rather in Compassion to the young Lady, than in Favour either of *Pompey* or *Cæsar*; and yet of These two, they seemed to have done it more out of Deference to *Cæsar* though absent, than to *Pompey*, though he was present.

From hence the City began to waver, and feel new Commotions; for all things grew tumultuous, and every Body's Discourse tended to Sediti-

tion, as soon as Death had put an end to that Relation, which hitherto had been a Disguise rather than Restraint to the Ambition of these Men: Besides, not long after came an Express from *Parthia*, with Intelligence of the Death of *Crassus*, whereby another manifest Obstacle of a Civil War was taken away; for they had both an Eye thither, and that awe of Him kept them together in a fair Correspondence all his Life-time; but when Fortune had taken away this Second, who was in a Condition to have taken up the Cudgels against the Conqueror, you might then say with the Comedian,

*See, how the Combatants begin!
How they anoint each other's Skin,
And chafe their Hands in Dust again.*

So inconsiderable a thing is Fortune in respect of human Nature; and so little Content can it give to a covetous Mind, that an Empire of that mighty Extent and Sway could not satisfy the Ambition of two Men. Though they knew and had read, (1) that when the Empire of the Universe was divided by Lot among Three Gods, each God sat down contented with his own Share, yet They thought the

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Infernal Pluto sways the Shades below;

O'er the wide Clouds, and o'er the starry Plain,

Ethereal Jove extends his high Domain.

My Court beneath the hoary Waves

I keep.

And hush the roarings of the sacred Deep.
Pope.

This is finely applied here to expose the insatiable Greediness of corrupt Nature. The Three most powerful of the Gods divide the Universe between them, and each is content with his Share; whereas two Men share the Roman Empire (that is, almost the whole Earth) and yet Their Ambition is not satisfied.

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whole *Roman* Empire not sufficient to contain Them, though they were but Two.

But *Pompey* in an Oration to the People, told them plainly, that *He* ever came into Office before he expected he should, and that he always left it sooner than They expected he would; and indeed, the disbanding of his Armies always witnessed as much: Yet when he perceived that *Cæsar* would not so willingly discharge his Forces, he then endeavoured to strengthen himself against him by Offices and Commands in the City, and This he did without attempting any other Innovation; nor would he have it thought that he was apprehensive, or in fear of *Cæsar*, but rather that he despised and contemned him: But when he perceived that the Elections for Offices did not go as he would have them, the Citizens having been corrupted by Bribery, he thought it more expedient for his Purpose to have the City left in a State of Anarchy. Things being brought to this pass, it was on a sudden suggested that there was a Necessity for a Dictator, which was first moved by *Lucilius* the Tribune, who exhorted the People to make choice of *Pompey* for that Dignity; but being briskly taken up by *Cato* for it, he had like to have been turned out of his Office. This made many of *Pompey's* Friends, who were afraid it might prejudice his Interest, stand up in his Behalf, and declare, he was so far from having any Hand in that Motion, that he would not accept of the Dictatorship if it was offered him. Upon This *Cato* highly applauded *Pompey*, and recommended it earnestly to him to take Care that all things be restored upon the ancient Foot, and the Constitution preserved; which he could not for shame but yield to, and so *Domitius* and *Messala* were elected Consuls.

Afterwards, when there was another Anarchy or Vacancy in the Government, and the Discourses of a Dictator were much hotter than before, *Cato*, fearing lest they should be forced to it at last, thought it Policy to divert *Pompey* from it, by giving him an Office of more legal Authority: Nay even *Bibulus* Himself, who was *Pompey's* Enemy, first gave his Vote, that *Pompey* should be created Consul alone; alledging, *That by these means either the Commonwealth would be freed from its present Confusion, or that its Bondage should be lessened by serving the Worthiest*: This was looked upon as a very strange Motion, considering the Man from whom it came; and therefore *Cato* standing up, every Body expected that He would have opposed it; but after Silence made, he told them plainly, *That for his own part he should never have been the Author of that Advice Himself, but since it was propounded by Another, his Opinion was to follow it*; adding, *That any form of Government was better than none at all; and that in a time so full of Distraction, he thought no Man fitter to govern than Pompey*. This Counsel was unanimously approved of, and an Act passed, That *Pompey* should be made sole Consul, with this Clause, That if he thought it necessary to have a Colleague, he might chuse whom he pleased, provided it were not 'till after two Months were expired.

Thus was *Pompey* created and declared sole Consul by *Sulpitius*, whose turn it was to be Regent in this Vacancy; upon which, he made a very civil Compliment to *Cato*, with many Thanks for the Honour he had done him, and desiring his Assistance and Advice in the Administration of the Government: To this *Cato* replied, *That Pompey had no reason to thank Him, for all that he had said, was in favour of the Commonwealth, not of Pompey; but that he would be always ready to serve*

him in the quality of a Privy-Counsellor, if he pleased to require it; if not, yet he would be sure to speak in publick what he thought was for the Interest of the Commonwealth. So just was Cato in all his Actions.

Pompey upon his Return into the City married *Cornelia* the Daughter of (1) *Metellus Scipio*, not a Virgin, but Widow, and Relict of *Publius* the Son of *Crassus*, to whom she had been married when very young, and who fell with his Father in *Parthia*. This Lady, besides the Charms of her Beauty, had many attractive Qualities from her Education, for she had made a great Progress in most parts of Learning; she played well upon the Lute, understood Geometry, and read (2) with Profit the Precepts of Philosophy. But (3) That which crowned all the rest was her Modesty and Humility in her Behaviour, free from that Pride and Petulancy which is too frequently found in Ladies of her Birth and Endowments. Her Father also was very considerable, as well in the Honour of his Family, as That of his own Virtues. However, this unequal Match was not very pleasing to some sort of People; for *Cornelia's*

(1) This *Scipio* was the Son of *Scipio* surnamed *Nasica*, but being adopted into the Family of the *Metelli*, he was called *Metellus Scipio*.

(2) He does not only say, that she read the Precepts of Philosophy, but that she read them with Profit. How many are there that read them out of Curiosity, without being in any wise the better for them!

(3) This is a very great Encomium. A young Lady modest and humble in spite of so many Charms and Perfections, a small part of which wou'd be sufficient

to inspire Another with the utmost Vanity and Affectation. I have, saith *M. Dacier*, more Reason than any one to believe that the Commendation given by *Plutarch* in this place to *Cornelia*, may be no more than what she deserved, for I have a domestick Example, which proves that much Learning, Sense and Judgment, and many other uncommon Talents, may be found in a Woman, and at the same time be accompanied with a Sweetness, and Modesty, as great, and much more valuable, than those Talents.

Age was more agreeable with that of *Pompey's* Son than his Own. Besides This, the wiser sort thought the Concerns of the City quite neglected, when He (to Whom alone they had committed their broken Fortunes, and from Whom alone, as from their Physician, they expected a Cure to these Distractions) went crown'd with Garlands, and was revelling in his Nuptial Feasts: Never considering, (1) that this Consulship was a publick Calamity, which would never have been given him contrary to the Rules of Law, had his Country been in a flourishing State. At first he took cognizance of Those who got into Offices by Gifts and Bribery, and enacted Laws and Ordinances, setting forth the Rules of Judgment by which they should be arraigned and impleaded. Thus, regulating all things with Gravity and Justice, he restored Security, Order and Silence to their Courts of Judicature, Himself giving his Presence there with a Band of Soldiers. But the Case was altered, when his Father-in-law *Scipio* was accused; there he sent for the three hundred and sixty Judges to his House, and intreated them to be favourable to him; whereupon his Accuser, seeing *Scipio* conducted out of the Court to his own House by the Judges Themselves, let fall his Suit: Upon This *Pompey* was very ill spoken of, and much worse in the Case of *Plancus*; (2) for whereas He himself had made a Law, wherein it was enacted, that no Man in the Course of his Pleading should launch out in Praise of the Ac-

(1) This Reflection is very judicious, and contains in it a useful Precept. The highest Dignities in a State, to which a Man is advanced by the Subversion of the Laws, and a General Confusion, are not real Dignities, but rather Indignities and Misfortunes.

(2) *Pompey* having observed that the Encomiums and Panegyricks, with which the Orators in his time loaded their Clients who were under Accusations, often blunted the Edge of Justice, passed a Law for the preventing so dangerous a Practice.

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cused, yet notwithstanding this Prohibition, he came into Court, where an Accusation was brought against (1) *Plancus*, and spoke openly in Commendation of him, insomuch that *Cato* (who happened to be one of the Judges at that time) stopping his Ears with his Hands, told him, *He could not in Honour bear a Commendation which was expressly contrary to Law*; thereupon *Cato* was refused, and set aside from being a Judge, before Sentence was given; notwithstanding which, *Plancus* was condemned by the unanimous Vote of the rest of the Judges, to *Pompey's* great Confusion and Dishonour. Shortly after *Hypseus*, a Man of Consular Dignity, endeavouring to avoid an Impeachment, waited for *Pompey's* Return from his Bath to Supper, and falling down at his Feet, implor'd his Favour, but he disdainfully passed him by, saying, *That his Importunities served for nothing but to spoil his Supper*. This Partiality was looked upon as a great Fault in *Pompey*, and highly condemned; however he managed all things else discreetly, and having put the Government in very good Order, he chose his Father-in-law to be his Colleague in the Consulship for the last five Months: His Provinces also were continued to him for the Term of four Years longer, with a Commission to take a thousand Talents yearly out of the Treasury for the payment of his Army.

This gave occasion to some of *Cæsar's* Friends to think it reasonable, that some Consideration should be had of Him too, who had done such signal Services in War, and fought so many Bat-

(1) This was *T. Munatius Plancus Bursa*, who was accused by *Cicero*, and condemned in spite of *Pompey's* Protection, and the great Commendations he gave him in Court. *Cicero* was so pleased with his Success in that Cause that he could not forbear testifying the Joy it gave him, in a Letter to *Marius*. *Litt. 2. lib. 7.*

tels for the (1) Liberty of *Rome*, alledging, *That he deserved at least a second Consulship, or to have the Government of his Province continued*, whereby he might command and enjoy in Peace what he had obtained in War, and that no Successor might reap the Fruits of his Labour, and raise a Fame upon the Glory of his Actions. There arising some Debate about this Matter, *Pompey* took upon him, as it were out of kindness to *Cæsar*, to allay the Indignation that Demand had raised in the People, and accordingly told them that he had then received a Letter from *Cæsar*, wherein he desired a Successor, and to be discharged from the War, but hoped withal, that they would give him leave to stand for the Consulship (2) though in his Absence: But *Cato* stoutly withstood it, saying, *That if he expected any Favour from the Citizens, he ought to leave his Army, and come in a private capacity to canvas for it.* Wherefore Pom-

(1) This is a very important Passage. It is in the Text ἀγωνίζομαι τὸ σάτυς ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας. And it has been generally thought that the Word ἡγεμονία cou'd signify nothing else but the *Commonwealth*. But I must confess I never met with it under that Signification. *Plutarch* useth it in the Life of *Cæsar* to signify the Government of *Cæsar*; that is his Government of *Gaul* and *Illyria*, and so it ought to be explained in this place. But as That was a very improper thing for the Friends of *Cæsar* to insist upon, I am of Opinion we ought to follow the Manuscript in *St. Germain's Library*, where we read it ἀγωνίζομαι τὸ σάτυς ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας, for the Liberty of *Rome*. In fact, *Cæsar* wou'd have it believed that He had no other View

in taking up Arms but to restore the *Romans* to their Liberty; for he demanded to have all the Forces in *Italy* disbanded, the City free from the Fears and Terrors it lay under, and that the Government should be restored to its ancient Form, and every thing left to the Disposition of the Senate and the People.

(2) There was a Law by which Persons absent were forbid to put up for the Consulship. Now *Pompey*, by way of Tack, added this Clause to it, *except such as were allowed it by Name*, which was no better in effect than to annul the Law, or at least render it entirely insignificant. For They who had the Power in their Hands, and were at the Head of Armies, would never fail of such Allowance or Permission.

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pey seeming so easily satisfied, in that he made no Reply, gave a greater Suspicion of his specious Inclinations towards *Cæsar*, especially when under pretence of his War with *Parthia*, he sent for his two Legions which he had lent him; however *Cæsar*, though he well knew for what Design he wanted them, sent them home very liberally rewarded.

About that time *Pompey* recovered of a dangerous Fit of Sickness which seized him at *Naples*, and there the whole City, upon the Persuasion of *Praxagoras*, made Sacrifices to the Gods for his Recovery. Those of the neighbouring Towns likewise happening to follow their Example, the Humour was carried on throughout all *Italy*; so that there was not a City either great or small, that did not feast and rejoyce for many Days together: And the Company of Those that came from all parts to meet him was so numerous, that no Place was able to contain them; but the Villages, Sea-port Towns, and the very Highways were all full of People, feasting and sacrificing to the Gods: Nay, Many went to meet him with Garlands on their Heads, and Tapers in their Hands, casting Flowers and Nose-gays upon him as he went along; so that this Progress and Reception, was one of the noblest and most glorious Sights imaginable: And yet it is thought that this very thing was not one of the least Causes and Occasions of the Civil War; for *Pompey* judging of the People's Affections by their Actions, together with the Greatness of their Joy, was grown to that height of Pride and Conceit, that (having laid aside that prudent Conduct and Caution which had hitherto secured and crowned all his Actions with good Success) he entertained a most extravagant Confidence of his Own, and Contempt of *Cæsar's* Power;

Power; infomuch that he thought neither Force nor Care necessary against him, but that he could pull him down much easier than he had set him up. Add to This that *Appius*, who was just returned from *Gaul* with the Legions *Pompey* had lent to *Cæsar*, very much vilified his Actions there, and raised many scandalous Reports of *Cæsar*, telling *Pompey*, *That he was unacquainted with his own Strength and Reputation, if he made use of any other Forces against Cæsar than the very Legions he should bring with him; for such was the Soldiers Hatred to Cæsar, and their Love to Pompey so great, that they would all come over to him upon his first Appearance.* By these Flatteries was *Pompey* strangely puffed up, and his Confidence had wrought him into such a careless Security, that he could not chuse but laugh at Those who seemed to fear a War: And when Some were saying, that if *Cæsar* should bend his Forces against the City, they could not see what Power was able to resist him, He replied with a scornful Smile, bidding them take no care of That, for, said he, *Whenever I stamp with my Foot in any part of Italy, there will rise up Forces enough in an Instant both Horse and Foot.*

Cæsar on the other side was more vigorous in his Proceedings, by long Marches drawing near, and hovering about the Frontiers of *Italy*, from whence he was continually sending some of his Soldiers into the City to attend at all Elections: besides This, he corrupted divers of the Magistrates, and brought them over to his Party by Pensions; whereof *Paulus* the Consul was one, who was brought over by a Bribe of fifteen hundred Talents; and *Curio*, a Tribune of the People, by a discharge of all his Debts, which he had contracted without Number; together with *Mark Anthony*, who out of Friendship to *Curio* became bound

bound with him in the same Obligations for them All. And it is undoubtedly true, that a Centurion of *Cæsar's* waiting at the Senate-house, and hearing that the Senate refused to give him a larger Term in the Continuance of his Government, clapt his Hand upon his Sword, and said, *But This shall give it.* And indeed all his Practices and Preparations were in order to this end: Tho' *Curio's* Demands and Request in favour of *Cæsar* seemed much more moderate and plausible, for he only desired One of these two things, either that *Pompey* should disband his Army, or that *Cæsar* should be allowed to keep His on foot: For if Both of them were unarmed, and reduced to a private State, they might easily be kept within the Bounds of their Duty; or if they were of equal Authority, they would be a Ballance to each other, and sit down contented with their Lot: But He that weakens One, does at the same time strengthen the Other, and so doubles that very Strength and Power which he stood in fear of before. *Marcellus* the Consul replied nothing to all This, but that *Cæsar* was a Thief, and should be proclaimed an Enemy to the State, if he did not disband his Army. However *Curio* with the Assistance of *Anthony* and *Piso* prevailed, that the Matter in Debate should be put to the Question, and decided by Vote in the Senate. So that it being ordered upon the Question for Those to withdraw, who were of Opinion, That *Cæsar* only should lay down his Army and *Pompey* command, the Majority withdrew. But when it was ordered again for Those to withdraw whose Vote was, That Both should lay down their Arms, and Neither command, (1) there were but twenty tw

(1) We are assured of the quite contrary by *Dion*, who tells us that there was not One who was for *Pompey's* laying down his Arms, and that there were but two Persons who voted for *Cæsar*; one of These was called *Marcius Cæcilius*, and the Other was *Curio*, He who brought the Letters from *Cæsar*.

for *Pompey*, all the rest remained of *Curio's* side: Whereupon He, as one proud of his Conquest, leapt out for Joy among the People, who received him with Tokens of as great Joy, clapping their Hands, and crowning him with Garlands and Flowers. *Pompey* was not then present in the Senate, because it is not lawful for the General of an Army to come into the City: But *Marcellus* rising up, said, *That he would not sit there hearing Speeches, when he saw that ten Legions had already passed the Alps in their March toward the City, but that he would send a Man of equal Authority against them in defence of their Country.* Upon This the City went into Mourning as in a publick Calamity, and *Marcellus* (accompanied by the Senate) went solemnly through the City towards *Pompey*, and spoke thus to him; *Pompey, I command thee to appear in defence of thy Country with those Forces thou hast at present in readiness, and to raise more with all speed.* *Lentulus*, one of the Consuls elect for the Year following, spoke much to the same purpose; but *Anthony*, contrary to an Order of Senate, in a publick Assembly read a Letter of *Cæsar's* containing many fair Overtures, at leastwise very obliging to the common People, wherein he desired, that both *Pompey* and He quitting their Governments, and dismissing their Armies, should submit to the Judgment of the People, and give an Account of their Actions before them; insomuch that when *Pompey* began to make his Levies, and muster up his new-raised Soldiers, he found himself disappointed in his Expectations: Somefew indeed came in, but Those very unwillingly; Others would not answer to their Names, and the generality cried out for Peace. *Lentulus*, notwithstanding he was now entered upon his Consulship, would not assemble the Senate; for *Cicero*, who was lately returned from

from *Cilicia*, laboured for a Reconciliation, proposing, That *Cæsar* should leave his Province of *Gaul* and disband his Army, reserving two Legions only, together with the Government of *Illyricum*, and be had in nomination for a second Consulship: *Pompey* disliking this Motion, *Cæsar's* Friends were contented that he should retain one Legion only; but *Lentulus* still opposing, and *Cato* crying out, That *Pompey* did ill to be thus deceived, the Reconciliation did not take effect.

In the mean time News was brought that *Cæsar* had taken *Ariminum*, a great City in *Italy*, and was marching directly towards *Rome* with all his Forces; but this latter was altogether false, for he had no more with him at that time than three hundred Horse and five thousand Foot, and would not tarry for the Body of his Army, which lay beyond the *Alps*, chusing rather by Surprize to fall in of a sudden upon his Enemies, (while they were in Confusion, and did not expect him) than by waiting for the rest of his Army to give them time to make Preparations for War. For when he was arrived at the Banks of *Rubicon*, which was the Boundary of his Province, he there made a Halt, and for some time weighed in his Mind the Rashness of the Undertaking; at last (like Men that are throwing themselves headlong from some Precipice into a vast Abyss) having blinded and withdrawn his Mind from the thoughts of Danger, he spoke aloud in the Greek Language to Those who were present, Ἀνεπιφθονὸν ἔστι βίον; that is, *Let the Die be cast*; and so transported his Army. No sooner was the News arrived, but there was an Uproar throughout all the City, and a Consternation in the People even to Astonishment, such as never was known in *Rome* before. All the Senate ran immediately to *Pompey*,
and

and the Magistrates followed: Where when *Tullus* asked him what Forces he had in Readiness for their Defence, he seemed to pause a little, and answered with some Hesitation, *That he had those two Legions ready that Cæsar sent back, and for his new-raised Forces, he believed they would shortly make up a Body of thirty thousand Men;* but *Tullus* replied with a loud Voice, O Pompey, thou hast deceived us! and presently gave his Advice to dispatch Ambassadors to *Cæsar*. *Favonius*, (who was no ill Man, otherwise than in his petulant and abusive way of Talking, which he seemed to affect, in imitation of *Cato's* freedom of Speech) bid Pompey stamp upon the Ground, and call forth the Forces he had promised. But Pompey very patiently bore with all this unseasonable Raillery; so that *Cato* putting him in mind of what he had foretold from the very beginning touching *Cæsar*, he made this Answer only, *That Cato indeed had spoke more like a Prophet, but He had acted more like a Friend.* *Cato* then advised them to chuse Pompey General with absolute Power and Authority, saying, *That the same Men who do great Evils, know best how to cure them.* He therefore went his way forthwith into *Sicily*, the Province that was allotted him; and all the rest of the Senators likewise departed every one to his respective Government.

Thus all *Italy* in a manner being up in Arms, it seemed very doubtful what was best to be done: For They that were without, came from all Parts flocking into the City; and They that were within, seeing the Confusion and Disorder so great there, went-out and forsook it as fast: They that were willing to obey were found too weak for Service, and the Disobedient were found too strong to be governed by the Magistrates: Nay, it was so far from being possible to allay their

Fears, that they would not suffer *Pompey* to follow his own Judgment, but every Man would have him act according to his particular Fancy, whether it proceeded from Doubt, Fear, Grief, or any meaner Passion; whereby they became so disordered in their Apprehension of things, that even in the same Day they were often forced to make use of quite contrary Counsels: Then again, it was altogether as impossible to have any good Intelligence of his Enemies, for what one Man reported was contradicted by Another, and they Both took it heinously of *Pompey* if he did not believe them.

Pompey at length seeing such a Confusion in *Rome*, determined with himself to put an end to their Clamours by his Departure, and therefore commanding all the Senate to follow him, and declaring, *That whosoever tarried behind should be judged a Confederate of Cæsar's*, about the dusk of the Evening he went out and left the City. The Consuls also followed after in a Hurry, without offering any Sacrifice to the Gods, as is usual before a War. In the midst of all these Calamities, *Pompey* could not but think himself extremely fortunate in the universal Love and Good-will of the People; for tho' Many condemned the War, yet no Man hated the General; insomuch that there were more to be found of Those who went out of *Rome*, for that they could not forsake *Pompey*, than of Those who left it for the Sake of Liberty.

Some few days after *Cæsar* arrived at *Rome*, and made himself Master of it, treating All that were left behind with much Humanity, which served to allay their Fears and Apprehensions: But when *Metellus*, One of the Tribunes, opposed his taking any of the Money out of the publick Treasury, *Cæsar* threatened to kill him; adding an Expression

pression still more terrible than his Threats, *That it was far easier for him to do it than say it:* By this means removing *Metellus*, and supplying himself with as much Money as his Occasions required, he set forwards in pursuit of *Pompey*, endeavouring with all speed to drive him out of *Italy*, before his Army, that was in *Spain*, could join with him.

But *Pompey* arriving at *Brundisium*, and having provided a Fleet of Ships there, the two Consuls embarked immediately, and with Them there were shipped off thirty Cohorts or Regiments of Foot bound before him for *Dyrrachium*: He sent likewise his Father-in-law *Scipio*, and *Cneus* his Son, into *Syria*, to provide and fit out a Fleet there; Himself in the mean time (1) having barred up the Gates, and fortified the Works of the City, placed his lightest Soldiers as Guards upon the Walls; and giving express Orders that the Citizens should keep within door, he cast up divers Trenches and Rampires (which he had fortified with Pallisadoes or sharp-pointed Piles) throughout all the Streets of the City, except only those Two that lead down to the Sea-side or Haven.

Thus in three Days space having with ease put all the rest of his Army on Ship-board, he suddenly gave the Signal to Those who guarded the Walls, who as nimbly repairing to the Ships, were received and transported. *Cæsar*, when he perceived the Walls unguarded, imagining with himself that they were fled, made haste after, but in the heat of the Pursuit was very nigh falling upon the Stakes and Trenches; but the *Brundisians* discovering the danger to him, and shewing

(1) *Plutarch* takes no notice of Days; and yet it deserved to be what passed during the Siege of mentioned, as it is by *Cæsar* in the *Brundisium*, which held out nine First Book of the Civil Wars.

him the Way, he wheeled about, and fetching a Compass round the City, made towards the Haven, where he found all the Fleet under Sail, excepting only two Vessels that had but a few Soldiers aboard.

Some are of opinion, that this Departure of *Pompey's* is to be reckoned among the best of his Stratagems; but *Cæsar* himself could not but admire that He (who was ingarisoned in a City well fortified, who was in expectation of his Forces from *Spain*, and was Master of the Sea besides) should ever leave and depart out of *Italy*: *Cicero* likewise blamed him, in that he followed the Conduct of *Themistocles*, rather than That of *Pericles*, whereas the State of his Affairs was more agreeable to the Circumstances of the Latter, than Those of the Former: However it appeared plainly, and *Cæsar* shewed it by his Actions, that he was in great fear of the Times; for when he had taken *Numerius*, a Friend of *Pompey's*, Prisoner, he sent him as an Ambassador to *Brundisum*, with offers of Peace and Reconciliation upon equal Terms; but *Numerius* sailed away with *Pompey*. And now *Cæsar* having made himself Master of all *Italy* in sixty Days, without a drop of Blood shed, was desirous to follow close upon *Pompey's* Heels, but being destitute of Shipping, he was forced to divert his Course, and march into *Spain*, designing to join the Forces *Pompey* had there to his Own.

In the mean time *Pompey* had raised a mighty Army both by Sea and Land: As for his Navy, it was altogether invincible, for there were five hundred Men of War, besides an infinite Company of Galliot, Foists, and Pinnaces: Then for his Land-Forces, the Cavalry made up a Body of seven thousand Horse, (1) the very Flower of *Rome* and

(1) But we have it from *Cæsar's* own Mouth that this choice Body of Horse was almost entirely composed of Strangers. There were,

and *Italy*, Men of Honour, Wealth, and Courage; but the Infantry was a mixture of raw and un-experienced Soldiers, and therefore he exercised and trained them up daily near the City *Beræa*, where he had quartered and lodged his Army, and where He himself was not idle, but performed all his Exercises as if he had been in the Flower of his Youth. This exemplary Conduct raised the Spirits of his Soldiers extreamly, for it was no small Encouragement for them to see *Pompey the Great*, sixty years of Age wanting two, one while trailing a Pike, and handling his Arms among the Foot in all his Postures; then again mounted among the Horse, drawing out his Sword with ease in full Career, and sheathing it up as easily; and in darting the Javelin, there he shewed not only his Skill and Dexterity in hitting the Mark, but his Strength and Activity in throwing it so far, that few of the youngest went beyond him.

Several Kings and Princes of other Nations came thither to him; but there was a glorious Appearance of *Roman* Magistrates, and so numerous, that they made up a compleat Senate. (1) *Labienu*s forsook his old Benefactor *Cæsar*, (whom he had served throughout all his Wars in *Gaul*) and came over to *Pompey*; and *Brutus*, Son to that *Brutus*

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(1) It seemed very strange, said *Dion*, that *Labienu*s could quit the Interest of *Cæsar*, who had loaden him with Honours, and made him Commander in chief all the For-

ces on the other Side of the *Alps*, whilst he was at *Rome*. But he gives this Reason for it. *Labienu*s, saith he, pampered with Wealth and Preferments, forgot himself to that Degree, as to assume a Carriage very unbecoming a Person in his Circumstances; so that when *Cæsar* perceived he was for putting himself upon an equal Foot with Him, he grew cool towards him, and treated him with some Reserve, which *Labienu*s resented, and went over to *Pompey*.

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who was put to death in *Galatia*, a Man of great Spirit, and one that to that Day had never so much as saluted or spoke to *Pompey*, (looking upon him as the Murderer of his Father) came then and submitted himself to him, as the Defender of their Liberty: *Cicero* likewise (though he wrote and advised otherwise, yet) was ashamed not to be accounted in the number of Those who were ready to hazard their Lives and Fortunes for the Safeguard of their Country: And last of all there came to him even in *Macedonia*, *Tidius Sextius*, a Man extremely old, and lame of one Leg; Others indeed mocked and laughed at the Spectacle, but *Pompey*, as soon as he saw him, rose and ran to meet him, esteeming it no small Assurance of their Good-will, when Men of such Age and Infirmities should rather chuse to be with Him in Danger, than in Safety at home. Afterwards, in a Council of War, there passed a Decree, upon *Cato's* Motion, *That no Roman Citizen should be put to death but in Battel, and that they should not sack or plunder any City that was subject to the Roman Empire*: By these means *Pompey's* Party grew into greater Reputation, inso-much that They who were no ways at all concerned in the War, (either because they dwelt a-far off, or were thought incapable by reason of their Infirmities) were yet in their Opinions of his side, and did in all their Discourses even fight for his Cause, calling it the Good or Just Cause, and esteeming those as Enemies to the Gods and Men, who wished not Victory to *Pompey*.

Neither was *Pompey's* Clemency such, but that *Cesar* likewise shew'd himself as merciful a Conqueror; for when he had overthrown all *Pompey's* Forces in *Spain*, he gave them Quarter, leaving the Commanders at their liberty, and taking the common Soldiers into his own Pay: Then repassing the *Alps*, and making a running March through *Italy*,
he

he came to *Brundisium* about the Winter Solstice, and crossing the Sea there landed (1) near *Oricum*, from whence he dispatched *Vibullius Rufus*, an intimate Friend of *Pompey's*, and one of the Masters of his Ordonnance, whom he had taken in *Spain*, and brought from thence with him. He had orders to repair to *Pompey*, and propose a Conference, wherein they should Both agree to disband their Armies in three Days; to renew their former Friendship with solemn Oaths, and return together into *Italy*. (2) *Pompey* looked upon this again as some new Stratagem or Device, and therefore marching down in all haste towards the Sea Coast, possessed himself of all the Forts and Places of Strength (fit to encamp in, and secure his Land-Forces) as likewise of all Ports and Harbours commodious to receive any that came by Sea, so that what Wind soever blew, it must needs in some way or other be favourable to him, bringing in either Provision, Men, or Money. But *Cæsar* on the contrary was so distressed both by Sea and Land, that he was forced to desire Battel, daily provoking the Enemy, and assailing them in their very Forts; and in these light Skirmishes for the most part had the better, only once he was dangerously overthrown, and likely to have lost his whole Army: For *Pompey* having valiantly re-inforced the Battel, made a desperate Charge upon him, even to a total Rout of all his Army, and the Slaughter of two thousand upon the Place; but either he was not able to force their Camp, or he was afraid to fall in Pell-mell toge-

(1) Thus this Passage ought to be rendered, *Cæsar* could not land at *Oricum*, because the Haven was in the Possession of a Squadron belonging to *Pompey's* Fleet. He did not enter into *Oricum* 'till it was Night, when *Torquatus*, who commanded in the Place for *Pompey*, obliged the Garrison to open

the Gates to him. *Cæs. lib. 3.*

(2) *Plutarch* does not tell us where *Vibullius* met with *Pompey*, though *Cæsar* had not forgot it. He tells us that he found him in *Candavia*, as he was marching out of *Macedonia* to put his Troops in Winter Quarters at *Dyrrachium*, and *Apollonia*.

ther with them : Infomuch as *Cæsar* told some of his Friends, how *that day* had given an absolute Conquest to the Enemy, if they had had a Man at the Head of them that knew how to conquer. Pompey's Soldiers were so mightily encouraged by this Victory, that they would needs have it put to the Decision of a Battel : but Pompey himself (though he wrote to Foreign Kings, Princes, and States, in Confederacy with him, as already a Conqueror, yet) was afraid to hazard the Success of a Battel, chusing rather by Delays, and distress of Provisions, to tire out Those who had never yet been conquered by force of Arms, but had always, when they fought in a Body, been accustomed to Victory : Besides the Infirmities of their Age, which now made them quickly weary of those other Hardships of War, (such as were long Marches, and frequent Decampings, making of Trenches, and building of Fortifications) made them willing to fight and venture a Battel with all speed.

Pompey had all along hitherto by his Persuasions pretty well quieted his Soldiers; but after this last Engagement, when *Cæsar* for want of Provisions was forced to raise his Camp, and had passed through *Athamania* into *Theffaly*, it was impossible to curb or allay the heat of their Spirits any longer : For All crying out with a general Voice, *That Cæsar is fled*; Some there were for pursuing and pressing upon him ; Others for returning into *Italy* ; Some sent their Friends and Servants beforehand to *Rome*, to hire Houses near the *Forum* or Market-place, whereby they might be in a readiness to sue for Offices and Places in the Government : But Several were so vain as to sail for *Lesbos*, in a Compliment to *Cornelia*, with this joyful News, *That the War was brought to an end* ; (for Pompey had privately conveyed her thither from the Tumults in *Rome*.) Hereupon a Council of War

War was called, and the Matter being under Debate, *Afranius* was of Opinion, That *Italy* should first be regained, for that it was the grand Prize and Crown of all the War; and withal They who were Masters of That, would quickly have at their Devotion all the Provinces of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, *Spain*, and *Gaul*; but what was of the greatest weight and moment, it was his own native Country that lay near, reaching out her Hand for his Help; and certainly it could not be consistent with *Pompey's* Honour to leave her thus exposed to all Indignities, and in Bondage under Slaves and the Flatteries of a Tyrant. But *Pompey* Himself, on the contrary, thought it neither honourable to fly a second time before *Cæsar*, and be pursued, when Fortune had given him the Advantage of a Pursuit; nor indeed lawful before the Gods to forsake *Scipio* his Father-in-law, and divers other Men of Consular Dignity dispersed throughout *Greece* and *Thessaly*, who must necessarily fall into *Cæsar's* Hands, together with all their Wealth and greater Forces: Then as to his Care for the City of *Rome*, That would most eminently appear, by removing the Scene of War to a greater distance, whereby she being every way insensible of those Calamities that attend a War, might in Peace expect the Return of the Conqueror.

With this Determination *Pompey* marched forwards in pursuit of *Cæsar*, firmly resolved with himself not to give him Battel, but rather to besiege and distress him, by keeping close at his Heels, straitning his Quarters, and cutting off all necessary Reliefs: Now there were other Reasons that made him continue this Resolution, but especially a Combination among the *Roman* Knights that came to his Ear; wherein they designed, as soon as *Cæsar* was overthrown, to humble Him too; and therefore Some report, it was for this Reason

Reason that *Pompey* never employ'd *Cato* in any Matter of consequence during the whole War; and now when he pursued *Cæsar*, he left Him to guard his Baggage by Sea, fearing, if *Cæsar* should be taken off, left, by *Cato's* means, He likewise not long after should be forced to lay down his Commission.

Whilst he was thus slowly attending the Motions of the Enemy, his Friends began to charge upon him many Reproaches and Imputations, as if he did not use this Stratagem to deceive *Cæsar*, but his Country and the Senate, that he might always continue in Authority, and never cease to keep Those for his Guards and Servants, who Themselves were worthy to govern the World; besides that scoffing way of *Domitius Enobarbus*, continually calling him *Agamemnon*, and *King of Kings*, rendered him very odious: And *Favonius's* unseasonable Rallery did him no less injury, than Those that took upon them a greater liberty of Speech, when in Drollery he cried out, *My Masters! you must not expect to gather any Figs in Tusculum this Year.* But *Lucius Afranius* (who had lain under an Imputation of Treachery in betraying the Army in *Spain*) when he perceived that *Pompey* did industriously decline an Engagement, declared openly, *That he could not but admire, why They who were so ready to accuse Him, did not go Themselves and fight that Merchant, as they were pleased to call him, of their Provinces.*

With These and many such like Speeches they wrought upon *Pompey*, (a Man of that Honour and Modesty, that he could not bear a Reproach, neither would he disoblige his Friends) and forced him to break his Measures, so that he forsook his Own prudent Resolution, only to follow Their vain Hopes and Desires: Now if such an unsteady Conduct is blameable in the Pilot of a Ship, how much

much more in an Emperor, or the Sovereign Commander of such an Army, and so many Nations; but He (though he had often commended those Physicians who did not comply with the humorous Appetites of their Patients, yet) Himself could not but yield to the diseased part of his Army, rather than he would use any Severity in the Cure: and indeed who would not judge it Infanity, and want of a Cure in those Men, who went up and down the Camp, suing already for the Consulship and Office of Prætor? (1) Nay *Spinther*, *Domitius*, and *Scipio*, made Friends, raised Factions, and even quarrelled among themselves, who should succeed *Cæsar* in the Dignity of his High-Priesthood, esteeming all as lightly, as if they were to engage only with *Tygranes* King of *Armenia*, or some petty *Nabathean* King, not with That *Cæsar* and his Army that had stormed a thousand Towns, and subdued more than three hundred several Nations; that had fought innumerable Battels with the *Germans* and *Gauls*, and always carried the Victory; that had taken a Million of Men Prisoners, and slain as many upon the Spot in pitched Battels.

But as soon as they came to the Fields of *Pharsalia*, they grew very tumultuous, so that they

(1) *Cæsar* has put this Folly of *Pompey's* Officers in a very good Light, *lib. 3.* They wrangled and disputed about the Rewards they were to have, and the Priests Offices, and pitched upon Those who were to succeed annually in the Consulate for the ensuing Years. Others put in for the forfeited Estates of Those who followed *Cæsar*: and it was warmly debated in Council, whether regard should be had to *L. Hirtius*, whom *Pompey* had sent against the *Parthians*, and if He might be allowed

to stand by Proxy at the ensuing Election for Prætors. His Friends and Relations urged *Pompey's* Promise in his Behalf, and insisted that He who relied on the General's Honour might not be deceived. *Domitius*, *Lentulus*, and *Scipio* were often at high Words, and putting in their Claim to *Cæsar's* Priesthood. *Lentulus* founded his Pretensions upon the Respect due to his Age. *Domitius* upon his Interest and Authority at Rome. and *Scipio* upon his Alliance with *Pompey*.

forced

forced him by their Pressures and Importunities to call a Council of War, where *Labienus* General of the Horse stood up, and first took the Sacrament, swearing, *That he would not return out of the Bat-tel until he had seen the Backs of his Enemies*; and all the rest took the same Oath. That Night *Pompey* dreamed, that as he went into the Theater, the People received him with great Applause, and that He himself adorned the Temple of *Venus* the Victorious with many Spoils: This Vision partly encouraged, and partly disheartened him, fearing lest that Splendor and Ornament to *Venus* should be made with Spoils taken from Himself by *Cæsar*, who derived his Family from that Goddess. Besides, there was a certain Panick Fear run through the Camp, with such a Noise that it awaked him out of his Sleep: And about the time of renewing the Watch towards Morning, there appeared a great Light over *Cæsar's* Camp, where every thing was composed and quiet, and from thence a Ball of flaming Fire was carried into That of *Pompey*, which *Cæsar* himself said he saw, as he was walking his Rounds.

(1) Now as *Cæsar* was preparing to raise his Camp before break of Day, whilst the Soldiers were busie in pulling down their Tents, and sending away their Cattle and Servants before them with all their Baggage, there came in Scouts who brought Word, that they saw Arms

(1) This Passage would hardly be intelligible unless explained by Another out of *Cæsar*. *Pompey* drew his Army up at the Foot of a Mountain, thinking to draw *Cæsar* into a disadvantageous Place, but He finding he could by no means bring *Pompey* to an Engagement, thought it most for his Service to remove, and always be upon the March, for he hoped that by his frequent Decamp-

ments he might easier provide for the Subsistence of his Army, harraiss That of the Enemy, and perhaps meet with a favourable Opportunity of fighting. This Resolution being taken, he gave the Signal for decamping. But the Tents were no sooner struck, ere he was informed that *Pompey* had quitted his Retrenchments, &c.

carried

carried to and fro in the Enemy's Camp, and heard a Noise and Bustle as of Men preparing for Battel: Not long after there came in other Scouts with farther Intelligence, that the first Ranks were already set in Battel-array. Thereupon *Cæsar*, when he had told them, *That the wish'd-for day was come at last, wherein they should fight with Men, not with Hunger and Famine*, he presently gave Orders for the red Colours to be set up before his Tent, for That was usually the Signal of Battel among the *Romans*: As soon as the Soldiers saw it, they left their Tents, and with great Shouts of Joy ran to their Arms: The Officers likewise on their parts drawing up their Squadrons in order of Battel, every Man fell into his proper Rank without any trouble or noise, as quietly and orderly as if they had been in a Dance. (1) *Pompey* Himself led up

(1) This Order of Battel, such as we find it described here by *Plutarch*, is quite contrary to That *Cæsar* Himself gives of it in *lib. 3.* *Cæsar* upon his Approach towards *Pompey's* Camp, found he had made the following Disposition of his Forces. *Pompey* was on the Left with the two Legions *Cæsar* had returned to him at the Beginning of the Wars. *Scipio* was in the Middle with the *Syrian* Legions. The *Cicilian* Legion, and the Cohorts brought out of *Spain* by *Afranius*, were in the Right, which was defended by a River of very difficult Access; for this Reason he placed all his Cavalry, Slingers, and Archers in the Left. The whole amounted to forty five thousand Men, contained in a Hundred and ten Cohorts. *Cæsar's* Army was drawn up in the following Order. The Tenth Legion was according to Custom placed in the Right, and the Ninth

in the Left: but as That had been considerably weakened by the Actions at *Dyrachium*, he placed the Eighth Legion so near to it, as to be able to support, and reinforce it upon Occasion. The rest of his Forces filled up the Space between those two Wings. *Antony* commanded on the left Wing, *Sylla* on the Right, and the whole Body was under the Command of *Domitius*. As for *Cæsar*, he posted Himself on the Right over-against *Pompey*. *Appian's* Account of the Disposition of the two Armies differs from both These. One would hardly believe it possible that there could be any contradictory Accounts of this Battel of *Pharsalia*, which decided the Fate of the Universe. It is still more extraordinary that the Account *Cæsar* has left of it Himself should meet with a Contradiction. As I take it, his Evidence must be of the greatest Authority.

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the right Wing of his Army against *Anthony*, and appointed his Father-in-law *Scipio* in the middle against *Lucius Albinus*. The left Wing was commanded by *Lucius Domitius*, and re-enforced with several Regiments of Horse; for the whole Cavalry almost was placed there to distress *Cæsar*, and cut off the tenth Legion, which was accounted the stoutest in all the Army, and in which *Cæsar* himself always fought in Person. *Cæsar* observing the left Wing of the Enemy to be lined and guarded with such a mighty Guard of Horse, and fearing the Gallantry of that Battalion, he sent for a Detachment of six Regiments from the Rear, and placed them behind the tenth Legion, commanding them not to stir, lest they should be discovered by the Enemy; but withal as soon as the Enemy's Horse had made a Charge, and began to press upon them, that they should make up with all speed to the Front through the foremost Ranks, and not throw their Javelins at a distance, (as it is usual among your valiant Warriors, that they may come to a close Fight with their Swords the sooner) but that they should dart them upwards into the Eyes and Face of the Enemy; telling them, *That those fine young Dancers would never endure the Steel shining in their Eyes, but would fly to save their handsome Faces*: This was *Cæsar's* Device at that time. But while he was thus instructing his Soldiers, *Pompey* on Horseback was viewing the Order of both Battalions; and when he saw how well the Enemy kept their Ranks, expecting quietly the Signal of Battle; and on the contrary how impatient and unsteady his own Men were, waving up and down in great Disorder for want of Experience, he was very much afraid that their Ranks would be broken upon the first Onset; and therefore gave out strict Orders, that the Vanguard should make a stand, and keeping close in their Ranks should receive the

Enemy's

Enemy's Charge. (1) But *Cæsar* did very much condemn this Command, because to forbid a Charge, does not only take off from the strength and force of the Blow, which is otherwise made with a Spring upon an Incurſion, but it does likewise abate and blunt the edge of that Spirit and Fury which the Affailants carry with them, (and which is improv'd by Shouts and Advances) ſo that at laſt they become cold, unactive, and diſheartned.

Cæſar's Army conſiſted of twenty two thouſand Men; and *Pompey's* of ſomewhat above twice as many: Now when the Signal of Battel was given on both ſides, and the Trumpets began to ſound a Charge, the generality of thoſe preſent minded their own Buſineſs, and the Matters that belonged to Themſelves; only ſome few of the *Roman* Nobility, together with certain *Grecians* there

(1) This is in the third Book of the Civil War, and we ſhall give the Reader a Tranſlation of the whole Paſſage from his own Words; for every thing ſpoken by ſuch a Man as *Cæſar* ought to be preſerved entire; and, as they call it, to the very Words of the Letter. There was juſt as much ſpace between the two Armies, as was ſufficient for Both to meet and charge; but *Pompey* had ordered his Men to receive the Enemy's Onſet without ſtirring, and keep their Poſts, till *Cæſar's* Army by charging firſt ſhould be diſordered. This he is ſaid to have done by the Advice of *Triarius*, to the end that the firſt Force and Impetuofity of thoſe Troops might abate, and be weakened, and their Ranks thinned, and that Then They who had remained firm in their Poſts might attack them with a better Effect. when they were thus broken and diſ-

perſed. Beſides, he was in hopes that their Piles would do the leſs Execution if they received them in their Poſts, than if they advanced to meet them, and that *Cæſar's* Soldiers running the whole Void or Space themſelves, inſtead of meeting Them in the Miſt, would come up out of Breath and wearied. But in my Opinion, This was founded upon no manner of Reaſon: becauſe there is a natural Vehemence and Alacrity implanted in every Man, which is kindled in the Mind by an Eagrneſs and Impatience to begin the Onſet, which ſhould not be checked but rather encouraged by the General. Our Anceſtors therefore wiſely ordained that Trumpets ſhould ſound on every ſide, and all the Soldiers raiſe a Shout, conceiving that thoſe were the moſt proper means to animate and encourage their own Troops, and daunt the Enemy.

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preſent,

present, (as Spectators without the Battel, seeing the Armies ready to join) (1) could not but consider in themselves to what a pass the Ambition and Emulation of two Men had brought the *Roman* Empire; for the Weapons being of Kin, and the Bands Brethren, under the same common Banners, together with the Flower and Strength of the same City, clashing and falling foul upon one another, even to the Destruction of Both, gave a clear demonstration of human Nature, how senseless and void of Reason it is when blinded with Passion: For if They had been desirous only to Rule, and enjoy in Peace what they had conquered in War, the greatest and best part of the World was subject to them both by Sea and Land; but if there was yet a thirst in their Ambition, that must still be fed with new Trophies and Triumphs, the *Parthian* and *German* Wars might have yielded Matter enough to satisfy the most covetous of Honour: Nay, *Scythia* was yet unconquered, and the *Indians* too, (2) where their Ambition might be coloured over with the specious pretence of Civilizing those barbarous Nations; and what *Scythian* Horse, *Parthian* Arrows, and *Indian* Riches, could be able to resist seventy thousand *Roman* Soldiers, well appointed in Arms, under the Com-

(1) The Reflections of those wise Men mentioned here by *Plutarch*, and Those He adds to them, are full of Force and good Sense. By how many great Men have they been read, without their making a right use of them! What Desolations of Estates and Kingdoms have not such Civil Wars produced! When will Avarice and Ambition listen to the wholesome Councils of Wisdom?

(2) This same is a fine Motive to justify the carrying on a War

against People inhabiting the remotest Corners of the Earth! It was a Principle received by *Plutarch*, and he makes it That of *Alexander*; for in his Treatise concerning the Fortunes of that Prince, he represents him as a Philosopher, or rather a Missionary, rambling up and down the World, in order to civilize the most barbarous Nations, and instruct them in the Worship of the *Grecian* Deities.

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mand of two such Generals as *Pompey* and *Cæsar*? whose Names they had heard of before That of the *Romans*, and whose Prowess, by their Conquests of wild, savage, and brutish Nations, was spread farther than the Fame of the *Romans* themselves: But now were they ranged in Battel One against the Other, Both ready to engage (1) in Defiance of their own Glory, of that very Glory, of which they were so jealous, that they sacrificed even their Country to it, as to an Idol, which they sacrificed likewise into the Bargain, since in the issue of that Day's Action, One of them must lose the Title of *Invincible*, which 'till then they had Both been accounted. As for the Alliance contracted betwixt them, the Charms of *Julia*, and that Marriage, Those were looked upon as Tricks of State (only to palliate some sinister Design or Confederacy) rather than Pledges of a lasting and sincere Friendship.

Now therefore as soon as the Plains of *Pharsalia* were covered with Men, Horse and Armour, and that the Signal of Battel was given on either side, *Caius Crastinus*, a Centurion, (who commanded a Troop consisting of a hundred and twenty Men) was the First that advanced out of *Cæsar's* Army, to give the Charge, and acquit himself of a solemn Engagement that he had made to *Cæsar*: For *Cæsar*, as he was going out of his Tent in the Morning, saw *Crastinus*, whom, after some Discourse, he asked, *What his Opinion was touching the Event of that Battel?* To which he, stretching out his right Hand, replied aloud, *Thine is the Victory, O Cæsar; thou shalt conquer gloriously, and I my self this day will be the Subject of thy Praise either*

(1) This Idea is strong and noble, and makes Asses of these two celebrated Generals. Their single View is their Glory, and yet at the same time they stain and dishonour that very Glory, whilst they are sacrificing every thing to it as to an Idol.

alive or dead: In pursuance of this Promise he broke out of his Rank, and being followed by many more, charged into the midst of his Enemies: There they came presently to a close Fight with their Swords, and made a great Slaughter; but as *Crastinus* was still pressing forward, and breaking the Ranks of the Vanguard, a certain Soldier ran him in at the Mouth, so that the point of the Sword came out behind at his Neck; wherefore *Crastinus* being thus slain, the Fight became doubtful, and continued equal on that part of the Battalion.

Pompey had not yet brought on the right Wing, but stay'd, expecting what Execution his Cavalry would do in the Left; now they had already drawn out their Squadrons in form, designing to encompass *Cæsar*, and force those few Horse, which he had placed in the Front, to give back upon the Battalion of Foot: But *Cæsar* on the other side having given the Signal, his Horse retreated back a little, and gave way to those six Auxiliary Regiments, (being three thousand in Number) which had been posted in the Rear, as an Ambush or Reserve, to prevent encompassing; these rushed out, and fiercely charged the Enemy upon the Flank; but when they came up to the Horse, there they darted their Javelins upwards, according to their Instructions, and hit the young Gentlemen full in their Faces: Now these Gallants (as they were altogether unskilful in any manner of Fight, so least of all expecting or understanding such a kind as This) had not Courage enough to endure the Blows upon their Faces, but turning their Backs, and covering their Eyes with their Hands, were shamefully put to Flight: These being thus routed and put to Flight, *Cæsar's* Men did not follow the Chace, but turned their Forces back upon the Foot, and attacked them on all parts of that Wing

which lay naked and unguarded by the Horse, whereby they were presently surrounded and environed on every side; so that now being attacked in the Flank by These, and charged in the Front by the tenth Legion, they were not able to abide the Charge, or make any longer Resistance, especially when they saw themselves out-witted in their own Stratagem, and circumvented in that Ambush, in which they designed to have ensnared the Enemy: Thus These being likewise routed and put to Flight, when *Pompey* saw it, and by the Dust flying in the Air conjectured the same Fate of his Horse too, it were very hard to express his Thoughts at that time, but he looked more like a Man distracted and besides himself, than One who should have called to mind that he was *Pompey the Great*; and therefore he retired slowly towards his Camp, without speaking a Word to any Man, behaving himself exactly (1) according to the description in these Verses of *Homer*.

*But partial Jove espousing Hector's Part,
Shot Heav'n-bred Horror through the Grecian's
Heart;*

*Confus'd, unnerv'd in Hector's Presence grown,
Amaz'd he stood, with Terrors not his own.
O'er his broad Back his moony Shield he threw,
And glaring round by tardy Steps withdrew. Pope.*

In this State and Condition he went into his own Tent, and sate him down, remaining in a profound Silence, (2) until some of the Enemies fell in

(1) This Passage is in the eleventh *Iliad*, where *Homer* speaks in a lofty Manner of *Ajax's* Flight before *Hector*. *Plutarch* applies it very luckily to *Pompey*, as he is retiring from *Caesar*, and thereby gives a sort of Merit and Dignity to his very Flight.

(2) For *Caesar*, as soon as he had won the Battel, immediately attacked the Entrenchments, that *Pompey* might not have time to recollect himself. Those who were left to guard the Camp behaved themselves very bravely, but were at last forced to yield.

together with his Men that were flying into the Camp, and then he let fall only this one Word, *What? into the very Camp?* and said no more, but rose up, and putting on a Garment suitable to his present Fortune, departed secretly.

By this time the rest of the Army was put to Flight, and there was a great Slaughter in the Camp among the Servants, and Those that guarded the Tents; but of the Soldiers themselves there were not above six thousand slain, as it is reported by *Asinius Pollio*, who was present in the Action, and fought on *Cæsar's* Side. (1) When *Cæsar's* Soldiers had taken the Camp, they saw clearly the Folly and Vanity of the Enemy; for all their Tents and Pavilions were richly adorned with Garlands of Myrtle, painted Carpets and Hangings, their Couches strewed with Flowers, and their Tables set full of Bowls and Glasses, and Those even crowned with Wine; nay, their foolish Hopes had puffed them up with such vain Confidence, that their whole Preparation and Furniture was of People going to feast and sacrifice, rather than of Men well-armed and appointed for the Battel.

When *Pompey* had got a little way from the Camp, he dismounted and forsook his Horse; having but a small Retinue with him, and finding that no Man pursued him, he walked on softly afoot, taken up altogether with Thoughts, such as probably might possess any Man of his Quality and Circumstances; a Man that for the space of thirty four Years together had been accustomed to Conquest and Victory, and was then at last, in his old Age,

(1) *Cæsar* gives us the following Account of it. Having forced the Trenches, We found the Tables ready laid, Side-boards set out with abundance of Plate, and the Tents strewed with fresh Herbs; That of *Lentulus* and some Others were covered with Ivy. These, and many other Instances, we found of too much Luxury and Effeminacy, and too great an Assurance of Victory.

beginning

beginning to know the Calamities of War in Slaughter and Flight: And it was no small Affliction to consider, that he had lost in one Hour all that Glory and Power, which he had been getting in so many Wars and bloody Battels; and that He who but a little before was guarded with such an Army of Foot, so many Regiments of Horse, and such a mighty Fleet, was now flying in so mean a Condition, and with such a slender Retinue, that his very Enemies who sought him could not know him. Thus, when he had passed by the City of *Larissa*, and came into the Fields of *Tempe*, being very thirsty, he kneeled down and drank out of the River; then rising up again, he passed through those Valleys, until he came to the Sea-side, and there he betook himself to a poor Fisherman's Cottage, where he lodged all the remainder of the Night: The next Morning about break of Day he went into a little Boat upon the River, and taking his Freemen along with him, dismissed the rest of his Servants, advising them to go boldly to *Cæsar* and not be afraid. As he was rowing up and down near the Shoar, he chanced to spy a great Ship of Burden riding at Anchor, and just ready to set sail; the Master whereof was called by the Name of *Petitius*, a Roman Citizen, who, though he was not familiarly acquainted with *Pompey*, yet he knew him very well by sight: Now it happened that this *Petitius* dreamed the Night before that he saw *Pompey*, not like the Man he had often seen him, but in a despicable Condition, and disconsolate, and in that posture was discoursing with him: He was then telling his Dream to the Passengers, (as Men commonly do that are at Leisure, and especially Dreams of that consequence) when of a sudden one of the Mariners told him, he saw a little Boat with Oars putting off from Shoar, and that some of the Men

there shook their Garments, and held out their Hands with Signs to take them in: Thereupon *Petitius* standing up, knew Him immediately, seeing him in the same Disguise as he appeared in his Dream, and smiting his Hand on his Head in Token of his Concern for him, ordered the Mariners to let down the Ship's Boat, he Himself lending his Hand, and calling him by the Name of *Pompey*; in that he was already assured of his Change, the change of his Fortune, by That of his Garb: So that without any farther Entreaty or Discourse, he took him into his Ship, together with such of his Company as he thought fit, and hoisted Sail: There were with him the two *Lentuli*, and *Favonius*; and a little after they espied King *Deiotarus* making up towards them from a-shore, so they stayed and took Him in along with them: At Supper time, the Master of the Ship having made ready such Provisions as he had aboard, *Pompey*, for want of his Servants, began to wash Himself, which when *Favonius* perceived, he ran to him, washed and anointed him; and always after continued to wait upon, and attend him in all things, as Servants do their Masters, even to the washing of his Feet, and providing of his Supper. Inasmuch that One there present, observing that free and unaffected Courtesie in his Services, broke out into these Words,

*Lord! in the noble and the fair,
How graceful all things do appear!*

Pompey sailing by the City of *Amphipolis*, coasted over from thence to *Mitylene*, with a design to take in *Cornelia* and his Son: as soon as he arrived at the Port in that Island, he dispatched a Messenger into the City, with News very different from *Cornelia's* Expectation; for She, by all the former
Messages

Messages and Letters sent to please her, had been
 put in hopes that the War was ended at *Dyr-
 rachium*, and that there was nothing more remaining
 for *Pompey*, but the Chase of *Cæsar*: The Mes-
 senger finding her in the same Hopes still, was not
 able to salute or speak to her, but declaring the
 greatness of his Misfortune by his Tears rather than
 by his Words, desired her to make haste if she
 would see *Pompey*, with one Ship only, and That
 none of his Own: The young Lady hearing This,
 fell down in a Swoon, and continued so a long
 time senseless and speechless; she was scarce well re-
 covered of her Senses again, but being conscious to
 her self that This was no time for Lamentation
 and Tears, she started up and ran through the City
 towards the Sea-side, where *Pompey* meeting and
 embracing her in his Arms (as she was just fainting
 away and falling into another Swoon) she vented
 her Passion in this manner: *This is the effect of My
 Fortune, dear Sir, not of Yours, that I see you thus
 dejected and reduced to one poor Vessel, who before your
 Marriage with the unfortunate Cornelia was wont to
 ride Admiral of these Seas with a Fleet of five hundred
 Sail; Why therefore should you come to see Me, or
 why not rather have left Her to a severer Fate, who
 has been the Cause and Author of all your Misfortunes?
 How happy a Woman had I been, if I had breathed
 out my last, before that fatal News from Parthia of
 the Death of Publius, to whom I was wedded in my
 Virginity? And how prudent, if I had followed his
 Destiny, as I designed? But I was reserved for a grea-
 ter Mischief, even the Ruin of Pompey the Great.*
 Thus, they say, *Cornelia* spoke to him; and this
 was *Pompey's* Reply: *Dear Cornelia, Thou hast hi-
 therto been accustomed only to the Smiles of Fortune,
 which perhaps has deceived thee in This, that she has
 been constant to me beyond her usual custom; but it be-
 comes us, who are Mortals born, to bear with these*
B b 4
Afflictions,

Afflictions, and try our Fortune once again; neither ought we to despond, and rest hopeless, for that it is as possible to retrieve our former Happiness from this unlucky State, as it was to fall from That, into this present Calamity. Thereupon she sent for her Goods and Servants out of the City: the Citizens also of *Mitylene* came out to salute and invite *Pompey* into the Town; but he refused, advising them to be obedient to the Conqueror, and fear not, for that *Cæsar* was a Man of great Goodness and Clemency: Then turning to *Cratippus* the Philosopher, (who came among the rest out of the City to visit him) he began to repine, and argue somewhat with him touching the Dispensations of Providence; but *Cratippus* very modestly declined the Dispute, putting him in better Hopes only, lest by opposing he might seem too sharp or unseasonable. Not but that *Cratippus* might easily have answered his Scruples and Objections, and have demonstrated that by reason of the great Disorders that abounded throughout the whole Empire, it was necessary the Government should be lodged in the Hands of a single Person. And for his fuller Conviction, he might have put this Question to him; *How, O Pompey! and by what Token or Assurance may we be induced to believe, that if the Victory had been Thine, Thou wouldst have used thy Fortune better than Cæsar?* But the Dispensations of Providence are in the Hands of the Supreme Being, and there we must leave them.

Thus *Pompey* having taken his Wife and Friends aboard, set Sail, making no Port, nor touching any where, but when he was necessitated to take in Provisions, or fresh Water: The first Place he touched at was *Attalia*, a City in *Pamphylia*; and whilst he was there, some Gallies came thither to him out of *Cilicia*, together with a few Bands of Soldiers, and there he had almost sixty Senators with

him again: Then hearing that his Navy was safe too, and that *Cato* had rallied a considerable Body of Soldiers after their Overthrow, and passed with them over into *Africa*, he began to complain and blame Himself and his Friends too, in that they had forced him to engage by Land, without making use of his other Forces, (in which he was undoubtedly the stronger) and had not kept near enough to his Fleet, that failing by Land, he might have re-enforced his Troops from the Sea, and presently drawn out a Power equal and able enough to encounter the Enemy; so that in truth, neither did *Pompey* during all the War commit a greater Oversight, nor *Cæsar* use a more subtil Stratagem, than by drawing the Fight so far off from their Naval Forces.

Now *Pompey* being at present constrained to attempt and act somewhat according to his small Ability, he dispatched his Agents as Ambassadors to some of the neighbouring Cities, and Himself sailed about in Person to Others, requiring their Aid in Money and Soldiers to Victual and Man out his Ships. But being sensible of *Cæsar's* Diligence and Activity, and afraid lest by a sudden Arrival he might put a stop to, and prevent all his Preparations, he began to consider what Place would yield him the safest Refuge and Retreat in the present Situation of his Affairs. Thereupon a Consult being held, it was generally agreed, That they could not remain in Safety in any Government or Province belonging to the Empire; and touching Foreign Kingdoms, He himself was of Opinion, that *Parthia* must needs be the fittest both to receive and defend them in their present Distress, as well as to aid and furnish them with the greatest Force: Others of the Council were for going into *Africa*, and to King *Juba*; but *Theophanes* the *Lesbian* thought it madness to leave *Ægypt*, (which was

was but a Voyage of three days sailing) and forsake *Ptolemy*, (who was just come of Age, and highly obliged to him for that Friendship and Favour which he had lately shewn to his Father) only to put himself under the *Parthian*, and trust the most treacherous Nation in the World: Or what is worse, to suffer (1) *Arfaces* to become Master of his Person, which he never could be of *Crassus*, who died to prevent it, rather than try the Clemency of a generous *Roman*, and One who had been his Father-in-law, to Whom if he would but yield to be Second, he might assure himself to be the First and Chief over all the Rest: Besides, he thought it would be great Cruelty to expose a young Lady, descended from the noble Family of the *Scipii*, among such a barbarous People, who govern by their Lusts, and measure their Greatness by their Power to commit Affronts and Insolencies; from whom, though she might suffer no Dishonour, yet it would be thought she did, being in the Hands of Those who had the Power to do it. This Argument alone, they say, was so persuasive, as to divert his Course, which was designed towards *Euphrates*; if it were so indeed that any Council of *Pompey's*, and not his Own Fate, made him take this other way. As soon therefore as it was resolved upon, that he should fly into *Egypt*, setting Sail from *Cyprus*, in a Galley of *Seleucia*, together with *Cornelia*, (and the rest of his Company, some in Long-boats, and others in Ships of Burden, sailing by) he passed over Sea without danger. But when he understood that King *Ptolemy* was with his Army at *Pelusium*, making War against his Sister, he steered his Course that way, and sent

(1) There was no Prince of that Name then in *Parthia*; nor had *Crassus* ever any thing to do with *Arfaces*. In all likelihood, *Theophanes* called the then reigning King of *Parthia* *Arfaces*, because he was one of the Descendants of *Arfaces*.

a Messenger before to acquaint the King with his Arrival, and humbly crave his Protection. *Ptolemy* Himself was a very young Man; and therefore *Pothinus*, the principal Minister of State, (having the sole Administration of all Affairs in the Government) called a Council of the chiefest Men at Court, (Those being the greatest Whom he pleased to make so) and commanded them every Man to deliver his Opinion touching the Reception of *Pompey*: Now it was a horrid thing to consider, that the Fate of *Pompey the Great* should be determined by such a Crew, as *Pothinus* an Eunuch, *Theodotus* of *Chios*, a mercenary Rhetorician, that taught Oratory, as a School-master, for Reward, and *Achillas* an *Ægyptian*; for of All the Lords of his Bed-Chamber, and Those who had a Share in his Education, these Three were his Chief Counsellors, and had the greatest Influence over him. In the mean time *Pompey* riding at Anchor at a great Distance from Shore, was forced to wait the Result of this doughty Council; (1) He who thought it beneath his Grandeur to owe his Safety to *Cæsar* a Roman, and his Father-in-law. These worthy Counsellors were divided in their Opinions. Some of them were for giving *Pompey* a kind and honourable Reception, whilst Others were for refusing to admit him; (2) but *Theodotus*, to shew the Power of his Eloquence and Rhetorick, undertook

(1) This Reflection is very Just. It is unconceivable how far a Man may be hurried on by his Pride and Contention. *Pompey* chose rather to lye at the Discretion of three unworthy Favourites, who had their Prince at their Beck, than be obliged for his Preservation to *Cæsar*, tho' he was his Father-in-law, and the greatest of all the Romans.

(2) This was a pernicious Eloquence. What *Theodotus* said was fair and plausible in Appearance, but fatal in the Effect. An honest and eloquent Man indeed would have said the quite Contrary. He would have persuaded the King to receive *Pompey*, not only because it was an act of Humanity, and that it was barbarous to murder a Person suing for Protection,

took to demonstrate, that neither the one nor the other was safe in that Juncture of Affairs; for if they entertained him, they would be sure to make *Cæsar* their Enemy, and *Pompey* their Master; or if they dismissed him, they might render themselves hereafter obnoxious to *Pompey*, for that inhospitable Expulsion, and to *Cæsar*, for the Escape; so that the safest Expedient would be to send for him, and take away his Life, for by that means they would ingratiate themselves with the One, and have no reason to fear the Other; adding, as it is reported, with a Smile, *That a dead Man cannot bite.* This Advice being approved of, they committed the Execution of it to *Achillas*: He therefore taking with him as his Accomplices, one *Septimius*, a Man who had formerly commanded a Brigade under *Pompey*, and *Salvius* another Centurion, with three or four Officers more, made up towards *Pompey's* Galley; in the mean time, all the chifest of Those who accompanied *Pompey* in this Voyage, were come into his Ship to see the event of their Embassy. But when they saw the manner of their Reception, that in Appearance it was neither Princely, nor Honourable, nor indeed any ways answerable to the Hopes of *Theophanes*, or their Expectation, (for there came but a few Men in a Fisherman's Boat to meet them) they began to suspect the meanness of their Entertainment, and gave warning to *Pompey* that he should turn back, whilst he was out of their reach, and launch into

tection, but that it was then in his Power to do a very honourable Action, and at the same time acquire to himself the Friendship of two powerful Persons, in being the Instrument of Peace between them, of which the whole Empire would have enjoyed the Benefit, but the Honour of it would

have been entirely his Own. These would have been the happy and glorious Effects of such Councils, whereas *Theodorus's* Advice proved fatal to the Adviser, to Those who put it in Execution, and even to the Prince Himself, who was so weak as to consent and follow it.

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the main Sea. By this time, the *Egyptian* Boat drew near, and *Septimius* standing up first, saluted *Pompey* in the *Latin* Tongue by the Title of *Imperator*, or General: Then *Achillas* saluting him in the *Greek* Language, desired him to come aboard his Vessel, telling him, that the Sea was very shallow towards the Shore, and that a Galley of that Burden could not avoid striking upon some Shelve, or Quick-sand: At the same time they saw several of the King's Gallies well manned, and all the Shore covered with Soldiers; so that if they had changed their Minds, it seemed impossible for them to escape; and besides, their Distrust would have given the Assassins a colourable pretence for their Cruelty. *Pompey* therefore taking his leave of *Cornelia*, who lamented his Death before-hand, bid two Centurions, together with *Philip* one of his Free-Men, and a Slave called *Scenes*, to go aboard of the *Egyptian's* Boat before him; and as some of the Ship's Crew belonging to *Achillas* were reaching out their Hands to help him, he turn'd about towards his Wife and Son, and repeated those Iambicks of *Sophocles*,

*He that once falls into a Tyrant's Power,
Becomes a Slave, though he were Free before.*

These were the last Words he spoke to his Friends, and so went aboard. When *Pompey* perceived, that notwithstanding there was a considerable distance betwixt his Galley and the Shore, and yet none of the Ship's Company had paid him the least Civility, or spoke a kind Word to him all the way, he looked earnestly upon *Septimius*, and spoke to him; *Methinks I should know thee, Friend; Have not we been formerly Fellow-Soldiers, and served together in the Wars?* But he only nodded with his Head, making no Reply at all, nor shewing any other

other manner of Civility: Since therefore they continued silent, *Pompey* took a little Book in his Hand (wherein was written a *Greek* Oration, which he intended for King *Ptolemy*) and began to read it: Afterwards, when they drew near to the Shore, *Cornelia* (together with the rest of her Friends in the Galley) was very impatient to see the Event, and began to take Courage at last, when she saw several of the Court coming to meet him, imagining that it might be for a more honourable Reception: But in that Instant, while *Pompey* was taking *Philip* by the Hand in order to raise himself with more ease, *Septimius* came first of all behind with his Sword, and run him thorow; and at the same time, *Salvius* and *Achillas* drew their Swords likewise. Wherefore *Pompey* taking up his Gown with both Hands, hid his Face, and neither saying nor doing any thing unworthy of himself, (only groaning a little) manfully endured the Wounds they gave him; and so ended his Life, in the Fifty ninth Year of his Age, the very next day after That of his Birth. *Cornelia*, with her Company from the Gallies, seeing him murdered, gave such a Shriek, that it was heard to the Shoar, and weighing Anchor with all Speed, they hoisted Sail and fled. The Wind served them favourably from ashore, and assisted their Flight with a brisk Gale, whereby they presently got the main Sea, so that the *Ægyptians*, who had man'd their Ships for that Purpose, failing of their Aim, desisted from pursuing them. The Murderers cut off *Pompey's* Head, and threw the Body over-board, leaving it naked upon the Shoar, to be viewed by any that had the Curiosity to see such a miserable Spectacle. *Philip* stay'd by and watched his Corps, 'till they had glutted their Eyes in viewing it, and then washing it with Sea-water, and having nothing else, he wrapt it up

up in one of his own Shirts for a Winding-sheet; then seeking up and down about the Sands, at last he found some rotten Planks of a little Fisher-Boat, not much, but yet enough to make up a Funeral Pile for a naked Body, and that not quite entire. As *Philip* was busie in gathering and putting these old Planks together, an old *Roman*, who from his Youth had served in the Wars under *Pompey*, came to him, and demanded, *Who He was that was preparing the Funerals of Pompey the Great?* And *Philip* making Answer, *That he was his Freeman;* *Nay*, said he, *but thou shalt not have this Honour alone, let even Me too I pr'ythee have my share in such a pious Office, that I may not altogether repent me of this Pilgrimage in a strange Land, but that in compensation of all my Misfortunes, I may obtain this Happiness at last, even with mine own Hands to touch the Body of Pompey, and pay my Devotion at the Obsequies of the greatest General among the Romans:* And in this manner were the Funerals of *Pompey* performed. The next day *Lucius Lentulus*, not knowing what had passed, came sailing from *Cyprus* along the Shoar of that Coast, and seeing a Funeral Pile, and *Philip* (whom he did not know at first) standing by, asked him, *Who it was that was dead and buried there?* But pausing a little with himself, and fetching a deep Sigh, *Perhaps*, said he, *even thou O Pompey the Great!* and so going ashore, he was presently apprehended and slain. This was the unfortunate End of *Pompey the Great*.

Soon after This *Cæsar* came into *Ægypt*, where he found every thing in the greatest Confusion and Disorder. Upon his Arrival they exposed to him the Head of *Pompey*, but he turned his Eyes another way, and considered the Person that presented it as a most detestable Assaffine. They delivered to him *Pompey's* Seal, on which was en-

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The Comparison of

graven a Lyon holding a Sword in his Paw, and he burst out into Tears upon receiving it. *Achilles* and *Pothinus* he put to Death; and King *Ptolemy* Himself, being overthrown in Battel upon the Banks of the *Nile*, fled away in Disguise, and was never heard of afterwards: *Theodotus* the Rhetorician, flying out of *Egypt*, escaped the Hands of *Cæsar*'s Justice, but lived a Vagabond in Banishment, wandering up and down, despised and hated of all Men, 'till at last, *Marcus Brutus* (after he had killed *Cæsar*) finding him in his Province of *Asia*, put him to death, having first made him suffer the most exquisite Torments he could invent. The Ashes of *Pompey* were carried to his Wife *Cornelia*, who buried them in a Vault at his Country-house, near the City of *Alba*.



The Comparison of Pompey with Agefilaus.

THUS having drawn out the History or Lives of *Agefilaus* and *Pompey*, the next thing is to compare them; and in order to the fixing of the Parallel, which is to set forth wherein they agree, we shall take a cursory View, and touch upon some few Passages that make the difference, shewing wherein they chiefly disagree; Which are These: (1) In the first place, *Pompey* attained to all his Greatness and Glory

(1) For when we are considering by way of Comparison the Fortunes and Dignities of two Persons, we ought to examine into the Ways and Means by which they attained them. He who has advanced himself by just and laudable Actions is infinitely to be preferred to

Him, who owes his Greatness to Fraud and Injustice. *Epictetus* his Answer to One who valued himself upon being Prætor in Greece was very just and seasonable. I only desire to know by what Means thou didst arrive at that Preferment.

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by the just Measures of his own Integrity, and so was advanced by Himself; having often and desperately engaged together with *Sylla*, in delivering *Italy* from the Usurpation of Tyrants: But *Agefilaus* appears to have usurped a Kingdom, not without offence to the Laws, both of Gods and Men: Of These, by giving Judgment of Bastardy against *Leotychides*, the natural and lawful Son of his Brother, as appeared by undoubted Evidence; of Those, (1) by putting a false Gloss upon the Oracle of the Gods, and eluding the Prophecy in the point of Lameness. Secondly, *Pompey* had a constant Veneration for *Sylla* all his Life-time, and expressed as much after his Death, by making an honourable Interment of his Corps in despite of *Lepidus*, and giving his Daughter in Marriage to his Son *Faustus*: But *Agefilaus*, upon a slight Pretence, cast off *Lysander* with Reproach and Dishonour. So that in point of Gratitude, *Sylla* received in return from *Pompey* no less than he gave him; whereas *Lysander* made *Agefilaus* King of *Sparta*, and General of all *Greece*. Thirdly, Those Transgressions of *Pompey* against the State and Laws, were occasioned chiefly by his Relations, (for that most of his Errors had some Affinity, as well as Himself, to *Cesar* and *Scipio*, they being both his Fathers-in-law :) But *Agefilaus*, to grati-

(1) *Agefilaus* was lame, and *Leotychides* deemed a Bastard. Now there was an Oracle by which the *Spartans* were expressly forbid to endure a lame Prince on the Throne, and threatened with the severest Calamities in case of Disobedience. But *Agefilaus* maintained that this Oracle was by no means to be taken in a literal Sense, but a figurative, and that Bastardy was the thing forbidden by it. This is what *Plutarch* calls putting a false Gloss upon the Oracle,

and by This it appears that he thought it was to be understood literally. In Fact it seems to have been the natural Sense of the Oracle; for the Menaces that were threatned to the Breach of it were fully accomplished in the grievous Calamities wherein *Sparta* was involved. But the Remarks on the Life of *Agefilaus* shew that the Oracle might have been taken in another Sense, which was likewise justified by the Event.

the Amours or Lust of his Son, saved the Life of *Sphodrias* by Violence, when he deserved Death for those Injuries he had done to the *Athenians*; and it is manifest, that he was openly and cordially an Abettor to *Phæbidas* (in the breach of the League with the *Thebans*) barely for the Iniquity of the Act it self. In short, what Mischief soever might be charged upon *Pompey*, as done through Modesty or Inadvertency against the *Roman Government*, the very same was committed by *Agefilaus* against the *Lacedæmonians*, out of Obstinacy and Malice, he Himself being the Incendiary of the *Bœotian War*: And if by chance there was any thing common in the Offences of these two, That of *Pompey* was unexpected to the *Romans*; (1) whereas *Agefilaus* would not suffer the *Lacedæmonians* to avoid what they foresaw and heard must attend a lame or decrepit Kingdom; for had *Leotychides* been chargeable ten thousand times as foreign and spurious, yet the Race of the *Eurytionidae* was still in being, and there could never have been wanting One descended from that Line, to furnish *Sparta* with a natural and lawful King, and One who was entire in his Limbs too, had not *Lyfander* darkened and disguised the true Sense of the Oracle in favour of *Agefilaus*.

But as for State-affairs, never was there such a politick Contrivance, as was That devised by *Agefilaus*, in the Perplexity of the People touching Those who had cowardly deserted their Colours at the Battel of *Leuctra*, whereby they became obnoxious to the Law; when after that unhappy Defeat, he decreed, *That the Laws should sleep for that Day*: Neither indeed have we the fellow of it in all *Pompey's* Story; but on the contrary, *Pompey* thought it no Sin to break those very Laws for the sake of a Friend, which He himself had

(1) This is a farther Proof that *Plutarch* thought the Oracle ought to have been taken in its literal Meaning,

made, shewing at once both the force of Friendship, and the greatness of his Power: Whereas *Agefilaus*, finding that he must of necessity have dissolved the Laws to preserve the Lives of his Citizens, devised this Expedient, whereby the Laws might not hurt them, though they were not dissolved. Then I must needs commend This as an incomparable Act of civil Virtue and Obedience in *Agefilaus*, (1) That immediately upon the Receipt of the *Scytala*, (or Scrowl of Parchment with a Countermand from the *Ephori*) he left the Wars in *Asia*, and returned into his Country; for (2) His Case was not like That of *Pompey*, whose Actions at the same time that they acquired to Him the Sirname of *Great*, tended likewise to the Interest and Benefit of the Commonwealth; whereas *Agefilaus*, attentive only to the Prosperity and Grandeur of his Country, did for the sake of That quit and renounce as great Honour and Authority as ever any Person had attained to, either before or after

(1) It must be confest, that This is an Example of the most perfect Submission and Obedience. *Agefilaus* made it appear by this Action, that he was persuaded that it was more honourable and heroic to submit to the Authority of his Superiors, than to perform Exploits of the greatest Renown and Glory. We have many Examples of Persons, who are proud of being serviceable to their Country, when they can accommodate that Service to their own Greatness, but we rarely meet with a Man who will make a voluntary Sacrifice of his Greatness to the Interest of his Country.

(2) But *Pompey* has a Right to dispute this Point with *Agefilaus*. I wonder *Plutarch* cou'd not find in the Life of *Pompey* an Action worthy to be compared with That of *Agefilaus*. I am of Opinion there is One very near a-kin to it. When he was in *Africa*, he received Letters from *Sylla*, requiring him to disband his Army, and wait for the Person he had appointed to succeed him. After the many signal Actions he had been then performing, after his important Victory over *Domitius*, which was attended with the Surrender of several Cities, as likewise of the Person of King *Iarbas*, whose Kingdom he conferred on *Hiempsal*, and what is more than all the rest, notwithstanding the Troops refused to disband and forsake him, he obeyed, and threatned to kill himself if they persisted to retain him. This certainly was paying as full an Obedience to *Sylla's* Orders, as *Agefilaus* payed to Those of the *Ephori*.

The Comparison of

him, except *Alexander* the Great. But now for some other Head.

If we take a view of *Pompey* in his military Expeditions, and Exploits of War, in the number of his Trophies, and the greatness of his Armies which he commanded, together with the multitude of Battels in which he triumphed as a Conqueror, I am persuaded even *Xenophon* himself would not put the Victories of *Agésilas* in Balance with His, (1) though he has This Privilege allowed him, (as a singular Reward for all his other Virtues) that he may write and speak in favour of his Heroe whatever he pleases. Methinks too there is a great deal of difference betwixt these Men, in their Clemency and Moderation towards their Enemies: For whilst *Agésilas* was attempting the Conquest of *Thebes*, and Destruction of *Messene*, One of which was a principal City in his own Country, and the Other the Metropolis of *Bœotia*, he had almost lost *Sparta* it self, as he did effectually the Superiority over the rest of *Greece*. Whereas *Pompey* gave Cities to those of the Pirates who were willing to change their Course of Life; and when it was in his Power to have led *Tigranes* King of *Armenia* in Triumph, (2) he chose rather to make him a Confederate of the *Romans*, using on that Oc-

(1) *Plutarch* mentions This on account of a Treatise written by *Xenophon*, which is no other than an Encomium upon *Agésilas*, and in which he would have him pass for the greatest Man that ever was, considered even in his military Capacity. It is allowed to be a fine Panegyrick, but at the same time he is handsomely reprov'd for exaggerating his Hero's Merit in that particular; which may serve to let Historians and Panegyristis know that Posterity is not to be imposed upon by the Encomiums they bestow up-

on their Heros, and that nothing will go down upon their Authority, but what is founded upon Matter of Fact.

(2) He suffered him to enjoy all he was possessed of, and conserted on his Son the Kingdom of *Se-phene*. And yet tho' *Tigranes* was excused from attending in Person, his Son *Tigranes* with his Wife and Daughter, and *Zosima* the Royal Consort of *Tigranes* the Father, were forced to follow the triumphal Chariot.

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casion this memorable Saying, *That a Glory which was to last throughtout all Ages, was to be preferred to That which was to be but of one Day's Continuance.* But (1) if the Prize of military Virtue is to be conferred on that General who has performed the greatest and most important Exploits, and been Author of Councils the most sagacious, profitable, and substantial, We shall find that the *Roman* comes far behind the *Lacedæmonian*; for *Agesilaus* never deserted his City, though it was besieged by an Army of seventy thousand Men, when there were very few Soldiers within to defend it, and Those had been baffled too but a little before at the Battel of *Leuctra*: Whereas *Pompey* no sooner heard that *Cæsar* with a Body of no more than five thousand three hundred Men had made himself Master of one small Town in *Italy*, but he departed timorously out of *Rome*, either through Cowardise, when there were so few, or at least through a vain Imagination, that there were more; and having conveyed away his own Wife and Children, he left all the rest of the Citizens defenceless, and fled; whereas he ought either to have conquered in Fight for the defence of his Country, or yielded upon terms to the Conqueror, for he was his Fellow-Citizen, and allied to him: But now to that same Man, (to whom he denied an Enlargement in the Term of his Government, and thought it intolerable to grant another Consulship) even to Him he gave a Power, (by letting him take the City) to tell *Metellus* the Tribune, together with all the rest, *That they were His Prisoners.* That therefore

(1) *Plutarch* has just before been giving *Pompey* the Advantage on the Score of his Trophies, his numerous Armies, and many Victories; but he gives it to *Agesilaus* with respect to the Grandeur and Importance of his Exploits: And in truth we find nothing in *Pompey* able to equal that Action of *Agesilaus* when he defended his City with a few Troops against seventy thousand Combarants; whereas *Pompey* abandoned *Rome* at the Approach of *Cæsar* with no more than five thousand five hundred Men.

which is chiefly the Office of a General, to put the Enemy upon a necessity of Fighting when he finds himself the stronger, and to avoid it when he is the weaker; that Property being singular in *Agamemnon*, he always kept himself invincible: And This was *Caesar's* Talent too, that when he was the weaker, he could at any time by fencing with *Pompey*, decline the Danger; and when he was the stronger, he forced him to Battel by Land, even to the hazard of All, whereby he became Master of the Treasury, Stores, and the Sea too, which were all in his Enemy's Hands, and which he might have kept in his Possession without any manner of Risque, if he had known how to have avoided an Engagement. Now That which is alledged as an Apology in Vindication of *Pompey*, is the greatest Crime in so great a General; for it is true, for a young Commander by Tumults and Noise to be wrought into a Fear and Easiness, whereby he may forsake the safest Counsels, is neither strange, nor altogether unpardonable: But for *Pompey* the Great, whose Camp the *Romans* called their Country, and his Tent the Senate, styling the Consuls, Prætors, and all other Magistrates who remained at *Rome*, by no better Title than that of Rebels and Traitors; for Him, I say, whom they well knew never to have been under the Command of any but Himself, (having nobly finished his course of Warfare under Himself, as sole General in all the Wars he made) who could excuse Him, that upon so small a Provocation, (as the Scoffs of *Favonius* and *Domitius*, and lest he should bear the Nick-name of *Agamemnon*) should be wrought upon, and even forced to hazard the whole Empire and Liberty of *Rome* upon the cast of a Dye? In Him, I say, it was intolerable; (1) who if he had so much

(1) This way of reasoning in *Plutarch* is very judicious. *Pompey* ought to have thought it infamous and dishonourable to abandon *Rome*, which it was his Duty to have defended to the utmost, and not have been ashamed to decline engaging in *Thessaly*, a Place so very incommo-
dious

Pompey with Agesilaus.

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much regarded a present Infamy, should have guarded the City at first with his Arms, and fought valiantly in defence of *Rome*, not have left it as he did, colouring his Flight over with the Stratagem of *Themistocles*; and yet after all This, to imagine that there could be any Reproach in a wary Delay before the Battel in *Thessaly*, was as inexcusable: (1) For neither did the Gods appoint the *Pharsalian* Fields to be the Stage and Theater upon which they should contend for the Empire of *Rome*, neither was he summoned thither by any Herald upon Challenge, with intimation, that he must either undergo the Combat, or surrender the Crown to Another: But there were many other Fields, thousands of Cities, and even the whole Earth, that he might have had by the Advantage of his Fleet, and Forces at Sea, if he would but have followed the Examples of *Maximus*, *Marius*, *Lucullus*, and even *Agesilaus* Himself, who endured no less Tumults within the City of *Sparta*, when the *Thebans* provoked him to Battel for the residue of his Country: He endured likewise many Calumnies and Accusations in *Aegypt*, thro' the Imprudence of the King, whilst he advised him to wait with Patience, and keep his Temper; but following always what he had determined in his own Judgment upon mature Advice, he did by that means not only preserve the *Aegyptians* against their Wills, not only keep *Sparta* constantly upon its Legs, even in those desperate Convulsions,

modious to him, that it had been his Duty to refuse it tho' *Caesar* had dared him to the Combat. But nothing is more usual with us than to be ashamed in the wrong place.

(1) This Idea is great and noble. The Places appropriated for celebrating the publick Games, are appointed and marked out by the Gods themselves, nor is it in the Power of the Champions to chaangethem, or refuse the Combat; they must

either enter the List marked out for them, or resign to Others the Crown for which they have not the Courage to contend. But it is not so with Generals, They are not confined to any Place, but may make choice of their Field of Battel, and lay hold of every thing that may tend to their Advantage, and secure the Victory, the Crown of all their Labours.

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but set up Trophies likewise in the City in Memory of the Overthrow of the *Thebans*, giving them afterwards an occasion of Victory, in that he did not at that time lead them out, as they would have forced him, to their Destruction; insomuch that at last *Agésilas* was highly commended, even of Those upon whom he had acted a sort of Violence, and saved against their own Wills: Whereas *Pompey* found Those to be his Accusers, whose Councils he had followed, and who had forced him upon those Errors, which proved his Destruction. It is true, Some say that he was deceived by his Father-in-Law *Scipio*, for that He (designing to conceal and keep to Himself the greatest part of that Treasure which he had brought out of *Asia*) did press *Pompey* to Battel, upon this pretence, that there would be a want of Money; however, admitting This to be true, yet such a General ought not to be have been so easily deluded, and led into an Error, even to the hazard of all the greatest Concerns in the Commonwealth. And thus we have taken a View of each, by comparing them together in their Conduct and Actions in War. As to their Voyages into *Ægypt*: One steered his Course thither out of necessity in Flight; the Other neither honourably, nor of necessity, but as a mercenary Soldier, having lifted himself into the Service of a barbarous Nation for Pay, that he might be able to wage War upon the *Græcians*. Lastly, (1) That which we charge upon the *Ægyptians* in the Name of *Pompey*, the *Ægyptians* return again in an Accusation against *Agésilas*: For One was barbarously betrayed and murdered by those whom he trusted: The Other betrayed his Trust, and deserted them, having upon his Revolt gone over to the Enemy, (that was now making War upon *Ægypt*) notwithstanding he came at first as an Auxiliary to the *Ægyptians*.

(1) For if the *Ægyptians* betray-
ed and assassinated *Pompey*, *Agési-*
las betrayed the *Ægyptians* in deser-
ting *Tachas*, to whose Assistance
he was come, and joyning with
his Enemy against him.



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